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S.r THOMAS MORE K.nt
Lord Chancellor of England.

H. Holbein pinxt. *G. Vertue sculp.*

THE

LIFE and DEATH

OF

Sir *Thomas Moore*, K^t.

Lord High-Chancellor of ENGLAND

In the REIGN of

King *HENRY* the VIII^th.

WRITTEN BY

WILLIAM ROOPER, Esq;

Prothonotary of the KING'S-BENCH.

To which are added,

Some ORIGINAL LETTERS referred to in the Account of his LIFE.

LONDON:

Printed for C. DAVIS in *Pater-Noster-Row*.

MDCCXXXI.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

THE PREFACE.

SIR *Thomas More* being a Perſon ſo very remarkable for his ſtrict Vertue, excellent Learning, great skill in our municipal Laws, his Honours and Promotions, and laſtly for the cauſe for which he ſuffer'd a violent death, * many have taken in hand to write His Hiſtory. Of theſe, that which I now publiſh as it ſeems to

* Sir *Thomas More*'s Life written by Mr. Juſtice *Reſtall* Sir *Thomas*'s Siſter *Elizabeth*'s Son, MS.

The Life of Sir *Thomas More*, Knt. Lord High Chancellour of *England* under King *Henry* the Eighth, and His Majeſties Embaſſadour to the Courts of *France* and *Germany*, 4to, 1627.

De tribus *Thomis* auctore *Thoma Stapletono Col. Agrip.* 1612. 8vo.

Hiſtoria aliquot noſtri ſeculi Martyrum, viz *Thomæ Mori*, *Joan. Fiſcheri*, &c. 4to, 1550.

The mirrour of Virtue in worldly greatneſs, 8vo, *Paris*, 1616.

The Hiſtory of the Life and Death of Sir *Thomas More*, Lord High Chancellour of *England* in K. *Henry* the Eight's time. Collected by *J. H.* Gent. 8vo. *London* 1662.

have been the firſt written, ſo all the reſt are more or leſs tranſcripts of or copies from it. And indeed none of the many other writers of Sir *Thomas*'s Life, can any way pretend to the ſame advantages and opportunitys of knowing him which the Author of this little Hiſtory had, who not only married his beloved daughter, with whom Sir *Thomas* entruſted his ſecrets, but who lived * ſixteen years in the ſame houſe with Sir *Thomas*, and was his attendant and companion almoſt wherever he went. Accordingly he gives this reaſon himſelf for his committing to writing theſe Memoirs of Sir *Thomas*'s Life, *&c.* that he knew *his dooings and minde noe man livinge ſo well.*

This Gentleman was *William Roper* the ſon and heir of *John Roper*, Eſq; prothonotary of the King's Bench, and of an ancient and worſhipful Family at St. *Dunſtan's* in the ſuburbs of the City of *Canterbury*. He married *Margaret* 1528. the eldeſt daughter of Sir *Thomas More* then Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*. This Lady had all the advantages that could ariſe from great natural parts and very fine learning: She was a perfect Miſtreſs of the Greek and Latin tongues, and of all ſorts of Muſic, beſides her skill in Aritmetick and other Sciences. For thus we are aſſured by a very learned friend of Sir *Thomas*, that he took a great deal of care to have his children inſtructed in the liberal diſciplines or ſciences; ſo that the fine things ſaid of her and to her by the greateſt men of that age and ſince, were more than complements or words of courſe, they were what ſhe had a right to and very well deſerved.

With

* By this it ſeems as if Mr. *Roper* lived in Sir *Thomas*'s Family ſometime before he married his daughter.

Edwinus Roper de Com. *Cantij*

Ada Roper fil. *Edwini*

Edmundus Prior de *Bilſington.*

Tho: Roper fil. *Adæ.*

——filia *Tho: Apledore* de Com. *Cantij.*

Agnes uxor *Simonis Kennet.*

Rodolphus Roper fil. *Tho:*

Beatrix filia *Tho: Lewkner* milit. = *Tho: Kemp* de *Wye* in Com. *Cantij* Vir. 2.

Johannes Roper S. P.

Agnes uxor *Walteri Colepeper* de *Bedgebury* in Com. *Cantij* ar.

Edmundus Roper temp. *H.* 4. & *H.* 5. ob. 1433.

Tho: Roper S. P. &c.

Johannes Roper de *Swalclive* in Com. *Cantij* ar. fil. & Heres *Edmundi* qui ob. 1433.

Margarita filia et coheres *Johannis Tergerſhall.*

Johannes Roper de *Eltham* Attornat: Generalis ob. 1524.

Jana filia *Johannis Fineux* militis primarij a Juſticiarijs *Anglie* et Coheres Matris ſue filie & coherede *Willielmi Apulderfield.* Ar.

Eleanora primo nupta *Morton* deinde —*Digby* et poſtea* *Edvardo Monta* — Capit. Juſtic. *Anglie.*

Eliza. deſponſata *Johi Pilborow* uni baron. de *Scacca:* Dni Regis, renupta *Leonardo Sanders.*

Margareta ux. *Henrici Apulton.*

Anna uxor *Edwardi Mackſton* militis.

Eliz. uxor *Johannis Dawney* mil.

Willielmus Roper de *Eltham* Principalis Clericus in Banco Regis. ob. 1577.

Margareta filia *Tho: Moore* milit. ac totius *Anglie* Cancellarij. ob. 1544.

Agnes Monialis apud *Dartford.* in agro *Cantia.*

Chriſtopherus Roper de Lodge in *Linſted* Ar:

Elizabetho filia *Blore* de *Renham* in Com. *Cantij*

Eliza: vidua *Stephenſon* renupta *Edo Bray* militi.

Antonius Roper de *Farringham* fil. ſecundus

Margareta ux. *Willimi Dawtrey.*

Maria vidua *Steph: Clarke* renupta *Jacobo Baſſett.*

Tho: Roper de *Eltham* Armi: ob. 1597.

Lucia * Soror *Anto: Browne* vicecom: *Montacute* ob. 1606.

Johannes Roper de *Lodge* predict. miles, creatus *Baro* de *Tenham.*

---- filia & heres *Johnis Parke* de *Pluckley* Com. *Can.*

Maria ux. *Levini Buſkin* de *Gorecourt* in Parochia de *Otham*, &c:

Willielmus Roper de *Eltham* miles

Edw. Roper arm.

* *Edw. Mountague* Miles couſtit: Capitalis Juſtic. *Banci* Regis *Nov.* 6. 37. *Hen.* viii.

* filia *Anthonij Browne* ex illuſtri *Montacutienſi* familia, Equitis equorumq; Regi *Henrico* octavo Præfecti, cui etiam a concilijs fuit.

Place this [*Preface*] facing p. 4.

With this excellent Woman Mr. *Roper* lived about 16 years, ſhe dying 1544. nine years after her Father, when ſhe was buried in the Family burying place at St. *Dunſtans*, with her Father's head in her arms, as ſhe had deſired. By her Mr. *Roper* had two ſons and three daughters: Of whoſe education the Mother took the ſame care that had been taken of her own. The famous *Roger Aſcham*, then fellow of St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Latin Secretary to Queen *Elizabeth*, tells us, * That ſhe was very deſirous of having *him* for their Tutor to inſtruct them in the learned languages, but that he would not then upon any terms be prevailed with to leave the Univerſity; that therefore ſhe procured Dr. *Cole* and Dr. *Chriſtopherſon* afterwards Bp. of *Chicheſter*, both very famous at that time for their skill in the Greek tongue. *Aſcham* ſtiles this Mrs. *Clarke* one of Mrs. *Ropers* daughters, an eminent ornament of her ſex and of Queen *Mary*'s Court. Another daughter of Mrs. *Roper*, whoſe name was Mrs. *Mary Baſſet*, was one of the gentlewomen, ſo they were then called, of Queen *Mary*'s privy chamber, and tranſlated into Engliſh part of her grandfather's expoſition of the paſſion of our Saviour, which he wrote in *Latin*; and is ſaid ſo well to have imitated Sir *Thomas*'s ſtile that any one would think it was written by him in *Engliſh*.

After her deceaſe Mr. *Roper* lived a widow 33 years, even to the time of his death *January*

* Is —— ego ſum quem ante aliquot annos mater tua *Margareta Ropera*, femina et illo tanto patre et te tali filia digniſſima, ex Academia *Cantabrigienſi* accerſivit ad ſe ad ædes domini † *Ægidij Alingtoni* neceſſarij veſtri, rogavitque ut te reliquoſque ſuos liberos, Græca, Latinaque lingua inſtituerem: ſed tum ego nullis conditionibus ab Academia divelli me patiebar.

† Sir *Gyles Alington* who mar. Sir *T. Mores* 2d Lady's daughter.

4th. 1577. being then 82 years old, and left the following good character, *viz.* 'That he was very generous at home and abroad, mild and merciful, and the ſtaff or ſupport of thoſe who were either priſoners, or under oppreſſion or in poverty.' He was buried in the ſame grave with his dear and beloved wife. The very diligent and exact Mr. *Somner* has preſerved the following Inſcription or Epitaph made for him, which was, it ſeems, with other Funeral Inſcriptions for perſons of that ancient Family to be ſeen in his time in the Chancel or Chapel of the *Ropers* on the ſouth ſide of the high Chancel of St. *Dunſtan*'s Church, but are all now ſo totally defaced that not the leaſt remains are left: Nay one cannot ſo much as gueſs * whereabouts they were placed.

Hic jacet venerabilis Vir Gulielmus Roper armiger, filius et heres quondam Johannis Roperi armigeri, et Margareta uxor ejusdem Gulielmi, filia quondam Thomæ Mori militis ſummi olim Angliæ Cancellarij, Græcis, Latiniſque literis doctiſſime, qui quidem Gulielmus patri ſuo in officio prothonotariatus ſupremæ Curiæ Banci Regij ſucceſſit, in quo cum annis 54 fideliter miniſtraſſet idem Officium filio ſuo primogenito Thomæ reliquit. Fuit is Gulielmus domi forisque munificens, mitis, miſericors, incarceratorum, oppreſſorum, et pauperum baculus. Genuit ex Margareta uxore (quam unicam habuit) filios duos et

filias

* Perhaps they were on braſs faſtened to their ſeveral Tomb-ſtones which might be broken and defaced when they were taken up to make the Vault. For the Inſcription of *Edmund Roper*, who died 1433. which was to be ſeen there in braſs under his Effigies, 1717. is now quite gone with a part of the Stone, and of the braſs Effigies. So little regard do too many of the preſent Age pay to the memory of either their own anceſtors or of the anceſtors of others.

filias tres, et ijs vidit in vita sua nepotes et pronepotes, uxorem in virili aetate amisit, viduatus uxore castissime virit annis 33. Tandem, completis in pace diebus, decessit in senectute bona ab omnibus desideratus die quarto mensis Jan. Anno Christi salvatoris 1577. aetatis vero sue 82.

Mr. *Roper* seems to have been very well qualified for a writer of Sir *Thomas*'s Life, but his affection for him has had some influence on his pen, so as instead of a History, he has wrote a panegyric. As great and as good a Man as Sir *Thomas* was, it's certain he was not altogether without his foibles. The principal of these seems to me to have been too great an affectation of singularity. Somewhat of this appeared in his very dress; He used, we are told, to wear his gown awry upon one shoulder, and so to appear as if one shoulder was * higher than the other. Archbp. *Cranmer* seems to have been of this mind that Sir *Thomas* was somewhat too conceited and desirous of esteem, and therfore wherin he had once said his mind, would not vary therfrom that he might not for ever distain or blemish his Fame and Estimation. *Asham's* Schoolmaster.

Erasmus, tho' a very great admirer of Sir *Thomas*, and one who loved him so well as to seem to himself to have † died with him, yet observes of him that His aspect was somewhat ludicrous and tending to the smile, and more apposite to pleasantry and ⁎* jesting than either to gravity or

* Dexter humerus paulo videtur eminentior lævo, præsertim cum incedit, id quod illi non accidit natura sed assuetudine, *Erasmi* Epist.

† In *Moro* mihi videor extinctus.

⁎* A manne well learned in the tongues and also in the Common Lawe, whose wytte was fyne and full of imaginacyons by reason wherof he was too much given to mocking whiche was to his gravitie a great blemish. *Hall* Chro.

dignity. This he imputes to Sir *Thomas*'s being from a child, ſo d elighted with jeſting that he ſeem'd to be even born for it. But then he adds that he never degenerated into ſcurility, and that he did not love an ill-natured Jeſt, that put another to pain. Sir *Thomas* himſelf obſerves that it was reckoned a blemiſh in his Writings againſt the proteſtants, that he mix'd with the moſt ſerious matters fancies and ſports and merry tales. But in this he thought himſelf juſtified by the authority of the Roman Poet *Horace* who, Sir *Thomas* obſerves, ſayeth *A man maye ſometime ſaye ful ſoth in a game* ——— *ridentem dicere verum quis vetat?*

* Eraſmus

The ſame * great man tells us that Sir *Thomas* ſeem'd to be rather * Superſtitious than Irreligious: Tho' elſe where he obſerves of him that he was the fartheſt poſſible from all Superſtition. But how far from being exact this latter Judgment of him is, let the following Hiſtory of His Life be an evidence.

It was likewiſe laid to the charge of Sir *Thomas*, as he tells us himſelf, that he 'handled '*Luther*, *Tindal*, &c. with no fayrer wordes, 'nor in no more courteous manner and treated 'their perſons when he had them in his power 'with too much rigor and ſeverity.' Thus is it particularly remarked of his *Latin* anſwer to *Luther*, That in it he has forgotten himſelf ſo far that he has there 'thrown out the greateſt 'heap of naſty language that perhaps ever was 'put together, and that the book throughout is 'nothing but downright ribaldry without a grain of

Bp. *Atterbury*'s Conſiderations, &c.

* ——— Sic addictus *Pietati* ut ſi in alterutram partem aliquantulum inclinet momentum, *Superſtitioni* quam impietati vicinior eſſe videatur.

Veræ *Pietatis* non indiligens cultor eſt, etiamſi ab omni *Superſtitione* alieniſſimus.

'of reaſon to ſupport it, and gave the author 'no other reputation but that of having the beſt 'knack of any man in *Europe* at calling bad names, 'in good Latin; tho' his paſſion is ſometimes ſo 'ſtrong upon him that he ſacrifices even his be-'loved purity to it.' The like cenſure do his * Engliſh Tracts againſt *Tindal*, *Barns*, &c. deſerve. He by way of ſneer calls the proteſtants, the brethren, forgetting that this was the name the firſt Chriſtians were commonly called by. But for this Sir *Thomas* makes the following Apology,—— 'Where they fynde the faute that I 'handle theſe folke ſo foule, how coulde I other 'doe? For whyle I declare and ſhewe theyre 'writynge to be ſuche (as I nedes muſte or leave 'the moſt neceſſarie pointes of all the matter 'untouched) it were verye harde for me to handle 'it in ſuche wiſe as when I plainlye prove them 'abhominable heretiques and againſt GOD and 'his Sacraments and Saints very blaſphemous fools 'thei ſhould wene that I ſpeake them faire. I am 'a ſimple plain body —— For thoughe *Tindall* 'and *Frith* in their writings call me a poet, it is 'but of their owne courteſy, undeſerved on my 'part. For I canne neither ſo muche poetry nor ſo 'much Rethorique neither as to fynde good names 'for evyll thinges, but even as the *Macedonians* 'coude not call a traytour but a traytour, ſo canne 'I not call a foole but a foole, nor an heretique 'but

Engliſh Works. p. 864. col. 1

* Mayſter *Martin Luther* himſelf beyng ſpecially borne agayne and new created of the Spirit whom GOD in many places of holy Scripture hath commanded to keep his Vowe made of Chaſtity —— ſo farre contrary therunto toke out of religion a Spouſe of Chriſt wedded her himſelfe in reproche of wedlocke, called her his wife and made her his harlot, and, in double deſpite of marriage and religion both, liveth with her openlie, and lyeth with her nightlye in ſhameful inceſt and abominable bycherie. *Engliſh Works*, p. 360. col. 1.

p. 865. col. 1. ‘ but an heretique. —— But now theſe good ‘ brethren, that fynde the faute wyth me that I ‘ ſpeake no fairer unto theſe holye prophetes of ‘ theirs, be ſo egall and indifferent that in *them* ‘ they finde no faute at all for their abhominable ‘ raylinge againſt ſo manye other honeſt, honour- ‘ able, good & vertuous folke, nor for condemp- ‘ ninge for dampned heretikes the whole catho- ‘ lique churche of all Chriſten people, excepte he- ‘ retikes, both ſpirituall and temporall, ſeculare ‘ and religious to. But then the good brethrene ‘ excuſe theim and ſaye, that they write againſt ‘ none but onelye theim that are nought, and ‘ write but againſt their Vices.’

Of this Apology the indifferent reader muſt judge how far it will ſerve to excuſe Sir *Thomas*'s manner of writing againſt thoſe he calls Hereticks and the low, unmanly reflections which he conſtantly makes on their perſons. Tho' it muſt be own'd, in this they * were pretty even with him in the anſwers which they made to him, and treated *him* with as little ceremony as he had uſed towards *them*.

But beſides the reflections made on their perſons, its but too plain that Sir *Thomas* is not always ſo careful, as one would expect a perſon of his learning and of ſo tender and ſcrupulous a conſcience would be, in reporting matters of fact wherein they whom he called Hereticks were concerned. For inſtance, *Tyndall* had written ‘ that

* The Subverſion of *More*'s falſe Foundation whereupon he ſweteth to ſet faſte and ſhove under his ſhameles ſhoris to underproppe the Popis Churche: Made by *George Joye*.

More is become a vayn lyer in his owne reſoning and arguments: and his folyſhe harte is blynded. Where he beleved to have done moſte wyſely, there hath he ſhewed himſelf a ſtarke foole. *Moros* in Greke is ſtultus in Latyn, a foole in Englyſhe. *Emdon* 1534.

'that the Cardinall was compelled even with his awne good will to resygne his chauncelare-shippe, and that to whome he lysted himselfe: that he thought to undo his destenye with his policyes and went and put downe himselfe under a colour and sett up in his roume——— the chefest of all his secretaries —— *More*.— And as for the bishopryche of *Durham* he coude not of good congruyte but rewarde his old chappellayne, and one of the chefe of all his secretaryes with all —— *Tunstalle*.'

The Practyse of Prelates, ed. 1530.

These stories seem indeed to be perfect tattle and Romance, but thus Sir *Thomas* misrepresents them.——'*The practise of prelates*; wherin *Tindall* had † went to have made speciall shewe of his highe worldly witte, and that men shulde have sene therein that ther wer nothing done among princes but that he was fully advertised of all the secretes, and that so farre furthe that he knewe the privie practise made betweene the King's Highnesse and the late lord Cardinall and the reverend father *Cuthbert* then Bishop of *London*, and me, that it was devised wilily that the Cardinall should leave the Chauncellorship to me, and the bishopricke of *Durham* to my said Lord of *London* for a while, *till he list himself to take them both againe*.'

English Works p. 342, col. 1.

So in another place Sir *Thomas* tells a story of a childe who was a servant in his house, and had by his father been set to attend upon *George* * *Jaye* or *Gee* otherwise called *Clarke*, that this *George* * *Jaye* taught this childe his ungraciouse heresie against the blessed sacrament of the Aulter: and that into his house at *Antwerpe* the two nunnes were broughte which *Jhon Byrt*, otherwise called *Adrian*, stale out of their Cloyster. But to these stories *Joye*, so he wrote his name, in his answer

p. 901. col. 1.

* *Jye.*

† thought.

anſwer to Sir *Thomas* publiſhed by him next year,
1534. makes the following reply which I ſhall ſet downe in his owne words.

The Subverſion of More's falſe foundacion, &c.

'The Nonnes ſayd playnely, and yet affirme it, that they came forthe leſt they ſhulde have bene made harletts in the cloiſter by a vyciouſe prieſte called Syr *Johan Larke* their ſtwarde, whiche by theyr ſaynge was not mete to be chaplayne unto nonnis, nor nonnes to have ſiche a ſtwerd: and therfore came they their waye. It is a perrellous poynt for nonnes chaſtite to be recluſed in ſiche a cloiſter where prieſtes be to familiare and bere all the rule beinge at meall tyde, bedde and borde within the place. Nether came theſe Nonnis then unto my howſe in *Antwerpe* I take GOD to recorde. And as for Dicke *Purſer*, who attended upon me at *London* 8 or 9 daies, veryly the chylde lay with me that lytell whyle and fetched me meat, whom I taught to ſay by herte his *pater Noſter*, *Ave*, and *Credo* yn Englyſhe, wyth the two prayers folowyinge in the *Ortulus anime*, to ſaye them in the morninge and evenynge, and thys, yn good faith, was all the Hereſie that I taught him. I had ben an undiſcreit Maiſter ſo ſodenly in ſo lytell ſpace to have taken forthe the chylde oute of his *pater noſter* unto the ſacrament of the Auter, ſeynge the chylde was not yet of ſo ful age as to come unto GODDIS borde. But this lowde lye his Maiſter *More* ſouked owt of the boyes botickis to fede his ungracious affectis when he whipped him naked * tayd unto the Tree of his trowthe.'

* tied.

Sir *Thomas*'s zeal againſt ſuppoſed Hereſie was reported to have carried him too far in his reſentments againſt the perſons of thoſe who favoured it. His *Confutation of* Tindal's *anſwer to his*

his Dialogues, is a proof of this; ſince there he tells a parcel of ſtories of Sir *Thomas Hilton*, *Richard Bayfelde*, *George Conſtantine*, *Thomas Bylney*, and —— *Tewksberry*, moſt of them burnt, as ſerve to very little other purpoſe than repreſenting thoſe men as the weakeſt fools as well as the moſt vicious and hardned knaves.

All parties, it has been obſerved, have got a ſcurvy trick of Lying for the Truth. But it is not at all to be wonderd that *they* make no ſcruple of telling a Lie, who think that even by *killing* their fellow creatures they do GOD ſervice. This was another thing that was laid to Sir *Thomas*'s charge. He tells us himſelfe that it was ſaid of him that whilſt he was Chancellour he uſed to examine the proteſtants with torments, cauſing them to be bounden to a tree in his garden and there petiouſly beaten. But Sir *Thomas* ſolemnly declared, of very great trouthe that ‘ albeit for a great robbery, or an heighnous mur- ‘ der or ſacrilege in a Churche wyth carieng a- ‘ waye the pixe with the bleſſed Sacramente or ‘ villinouſly caſting it out, he cauſed ſome- ‘ tyme ſuche thinges to be done by ſome Officers ‘ of the Marſhalſye, or of ſome other priſons—— ‘ He never did els cauſe any ſuche thinge to be ‘ done to any of all the bleſſed brethren in all ‘ his Life, except only the child before menti- ‘ oned and another who was mad and diſturbed ‘ good people in the Divine ſervice. — That ‘ of all that ever came in his hand for hereſye, as ‘ helpe him GOD, ſaving the ſure keeping of ‘ them, els had never any of them any ſtrype or ‘ ſtroake given them ſo muche as a fylyppe on ‘ the forehead.’ Engliſh Works, p. 901. col. 1

His friend *Eraſmus* ſaid of him, that he hated the ſeditious tenets with which the world was then miſerably diſturbed: that this he no way diſſembled,

diſſembled, nor deſired ſhould be a ſecret. Yet this was a ſufficient argument of a certain excellent clemency, that whilſt he was Chancellor no one was put to death for his diſapproved opinions. In a letter of his to *Eraſmus* Sir *Thomas* very freely owns, That he ſo far hated that ſort of men called Hereticks, that unleſs they repented he would be as troubleſome to them as he could: and that this he had declared in his Epitaph out of ambition. To the ſame purpoſe he expreſſes himſelf concerning them elſe-where.

Engliſh Works, p. 925. col. 2

'As touching heretickes, I hate that vice of 'theirs and not their perſons, and very faine 'would I that the tone were deſtroied, and the 'tother ſaved.' But then he adds; 'Whoſo be 'deeply grounded in malice to the harme of his 'owne ſoule and other mens to, and ſo ſet upon 'the ſowing of ſediciouſe hereſies that no good 'meanes that men may uſe unto him can pull 'that maliciouſe folly oute of his poyſoned, 'proude, obſtinate heart, I would rather be con-'tent that he were gone in time then over long 'to tarry to the deſtruccion of other.'

The truth is there were ſo many perſons of corrupt minds and ill principles who abuſed the Reformation to ſerve their own vile purpoſes, that it is not to be at all wondred at that Sir *Thomas* as well as others entertained very ſtrong prejudices aga inſt it. In *Germany* all was in an uproar; the boors and common people ſeem'd to act as if all was their own, and that they were now at liberty to plunder whom they pleaſed. *Eraſmus*, who was on the ſpot, thus repreſents their behaviour. 'Who knows not, *ſais he*, 'how many light and ſeditious people are rea-'dy on this pretence of Reformation, for a looſe 'to all ſorts of crimes if the ſeverity of the Ma-'giſtrates does not reſtrain their glowing raſh-

neſs.

'nefs. —— Which if they had not done,
'the Pfeudo-Gofpellers had long fince broke
'into the cellars and cabinets of the rich, and
'every one would have been a Papift, who had
'any thing to lofe.' But then Sir *Thomas* feems tove carried his fears too far, in repreſenting all, without exception, who favoured the Reformation as thus ſeditious, nay even the principles of the Reformers as factious and rebellious. But to ſuch a hatred of *Luther*, *Tindall*, &c. had this great man wrought himſelf, that he reckon'd the followers of *Luther* a great part of thoſe ungracyous people which late entred into * *Rome* with the duke of *Burbon*, and layd the whole blame of the barbarities then committed on *them*, repreſenting them as beaſts more hot, and more buſy then would the great Turk, and from howre to howre embruying their hands in blood, and that in ſuch wiſe as any Turke or Saracene would have pitied or abhorred. He adds, that the unhappy deeds of that ſecte muſt needs be imputed to the ſecte it ſelf, while the doctrine therof teacheth and giveth occaſion to their evil deedes. 1526. Dialoges.

In the ſame manner had Sir *Thomas* wrought himſelf up in the point of the Popes primacy. This he tells Mr. Secretary *Cromwel* he was, by reading the King's book againſt *Luther*, brought to believe was begun by the inſtitution of GOD. And yet in his Anſwer to *Tindall* he ſays he never did put the Pope for part of the definition of the Church, defining the Church to be *the common known congregation of all chriſten nations under one Head the Pope.* Thus, ſays he, did I never Engliſh Works. p. 614. col. 1

* This ſacking of *Rome* was but 9 years after *Luther* firſt began to oppoſe the Pope; So that it is very improbable that any of his followers ſhould be a great part or any part at all of the Army that then did ſo great cruelties. No, theſe beaſts were all profeſſed Catholics.

never define the Church, but purpoſely declined therfrom. For which he gives the following reaſon. Becauſe he would not intricate and entangle the matter with 2 Queſtions at once. For he wiſt very well that the Church being proved this common known catholike congregation of all chriſten nations abiding together in one Faith, neither faln off nor cut off, there might be peradventure made a *ſecond* Queſtion after that, Whether over all that Catholike Church the Pope muſt needes be Head and Chief Governour or Chiefe ſpirituall Shepherd? Or elſe that, the union of faith ſtanding among them all, every province might have their own Chief Spiritual Governour over it ſelf; without any recourſe unto the Pope, or any ſuperioritie recogniſed to any other outward perſon. But now theſe could be no Queſtions, if the Pope's primacy, or his being Head, and Chief Governor or Chief Spiritual Shepherd of the Catholike Church was provided by GOD, or begun by His Inſtitution.

However, we here ſee the ground of this excellent perſon's oppoſition to the King's primacy or ſupremacy. By *Head* or *Chief Governour* he underſtood the being *Chief ſpiritual Shepherd*, as if the King was enacted to have power to adminiſter the Sacraments, particularly to ordain Biſhops and Prieſts, *&c.* And therfore he ſcrupled owning the King to be ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*, as not thinking him qualified to be the *Chief ſpiritual ſhepherd* becauſe he was a Lay-man. Thus has the Regal ſupremacy been ſince miſ-repreſented, in ſpite of all that has been ſaid or done by that prince, his parliaments, and his Clergy to the contrary, who all declared that by *Supreme Head* they did not mean a *Spiritual*, but a *Civil* Head or Paſtor

as

as K. *Saul* is ſtiled *Head* of the Tribes of *Iſrael*, and his Succeſſor King *David* is ſaid to *feed Jacob* and *Iſrael*. *Pſal.* 78.

The late *Jeremy Collier* (whom I never think of but with concern for his proſtituting ſuch excellent parts and fine learning to ſerve a party, even to the deſcending to aſſert the moſt ſhameful falſhoods and to indulge the groſſeſt partialities, as he has done in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory) has been pleaſed to tranſlate into Engliſh a long paſſage from Mr. *Calvin*'s Comment on the Prophet *Amos*, on purpoſe to expoſe the Regal Supremacy. But this he could not but know *Bellarmine* and others of the ſame ſtamp had done before him, and for the very ſame end. To them our learned prelates *Andrews* and *Bilſon* returned proper anſwers long before Mr. *Collier* was born. Which anſwers, I believe, every ſincere lover of truth will think ought to have been remembred in his Hiſtory, ſo long as it was thought proper to place the Objection there.

The Jeſuits having publiſhed a pamphlet entituled *An Apologie and true declaration of the Inſtitution and indeavours of the two* Engliſh Colleges, viz. of *Doway* and *Rheims*, in which they moſt of all ſpurn'd at the Royal Supremacy; among other things which they alledged againſt it was the authority of *Calvin* the learned French Reformer at *Geneva*, who in his comment on the *ſeventh* chapter of the prophecy of *Amos* ſays, *They were blaſphemers who called K.* Henry VIII. *ſupreme head of the Church under Chriſt*. To this Bp. *Bilſon* replyed that ‘ theſe indeed are his words: ‘ but that what goeth before and followeth after ‘ ſhews in what ſenſe *Calvin* took the word ‘ *Supreme*. At this day, ‘ ſaith *Calvin*, where po- ‘ perie continueth how many are there who load ‘ the King with all the right and power they can, *The true difference betweene Chriſtian Subjection & unchriſtian rebellion.* Part III. p. 294, 295.

'can, * *that there ſhould be no diſputing of reli-*
'*gion, but this authoritie ſhould reſt in the King*
'*alone, to appoint at his pleaſure what he liſt, and*
'*that to ſtand without contradiction.* They that
'firſt ſo highly advanced King *Henry* of *England*
'were inconſiderate, they gave him *ſupreme*
'*power of all things*, and that was it which al-
'ways wounded me.' Then, ſays the Bp. to the Jeſuits, ſucceede your words and withall a particular exemplification howe *Steven Gardiner* alleaged and conſtred the King's ſtile in *Germanie*.
'That jugler who after was Chancellor, I mean
'the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* when he was at *Rentz-*
'*burge* neither would ſtand to reaſon the matter,
'nor greatly cared for any teſtimonies of the
'Scriptures, but ſaid it was at the King's diſ-
'cretion to abrogate that which was in uſe, and
'appoint new: that the King might forbid Prieſts
'marriage, might bar the people from the Cup
'in the LORD'S SUPPER, might determine this or
'that in his Kingdome. And why? Forſooth
'the King had ſupreme power. This ſacrilege
'hath taken hold on us, in *Germanie* whiles prin-
'ces thinke they cannot reigne, excepte they
'aboliſh all the authority of the Church, and be
'themſelves ſupreme Judges as well *in Doctrine*,
'as *in all ſpiritual regiment*.'

'This, ſays the Bp. was the ſenſe which *Cal-*
'*vin* affirmed to be *ſacrilegious* and *blaſphemous*
'for princes to profeſſe themſelves *ſupreme Judges*
'*of* Doctrine *and* Diſcipline, and indeed it is the
'blaſphemie which all godlie hearts reject and
'abomine in the biſhop of *Rome*. Neither did
'King

* Mr. *Collier* in his tranſlation of this comment of *Calvin*'s omits theſe important words. This is one of his artifices to ſeduce the unwary reader to his Party: and is therfore often made uſe of by him, particularly in his abridgement of K. *Henry*'s book againſt *Luther*. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Vol. II. p. 12. 285.

'King *Henry* take any ſuch thing on him for 'ought that we can learn; but this was *Gardi-* '*ner*'s ſtratagem to convey the reproach and 'ſhame of the *Sixe* Articles from himſelfe and 'his felowes that were the authors of them, and 'to caſt it on the King's ſupreme power. Had '*Calvin* been told that ſupreme was firſt received 'to declare the prince to be ſuperior to the * 'prelates, who exempted themſelves from the 'King's authoritie by their Church liberties and 'immunities, as well as to the lay-men of this 'Realme, and not to be ſubject to the Pope, who 'claimed a juriſdiction over all Princes and Coun- 'tries, the word would never have offended him: 'but as this wily Foxe framed his anſwere when 'the *Germans* communed with him about the 'matter, we blame not *Calvin* for miſtaking, but 'the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, for perverting the 'King's ſtile, and wreſting it to that ſenſe which 'all good men abhor.'

The Bp. further obſerves that 'Our princes 'by their ſtile of ſupreme Heads of the Church, 'do not challenge power to debate, decide, or 'determine any point of faith or matter of reli- 'gion, much leſſe to be ſupreme Judges or Go- 'vernors of all doctrine and diſcipline: But if 'in their Realm we will have the aſſiſtance of the 'Magiſtrates ſworde to ſettle the Truth and pro- 'hibite error, and by wholeſome puniſhments to 'prevent the diſorders of all degrees, *that* au- 'thoritie lieth neither in prelate nor pope, but 'only in the prince: and therfore in his domi-

* We thought that the *Clergie* of our Realme had bene our Subjects *wholly*, but now we have weil perceived that they bee but *halfe* our Subjects, yea and ſcarce our Subjectes: For all the Prelates at their conſecration make an Oath to the Pope clene contrary to the othe that they make to us. So that they ſeem to be his Subjects and not ours. K. *Henry* VIII. Speech to the Commons, 1533.

'nions we can neither eſtabliſh *doctrine* nor *diſci-*
'*pline* by publick Laws without the Prince's con-
'ſent: That indeed with the regiment of the
'Church wherof Chriſt is Head, *viz.* His My-
'ſticall bodie, Princes have nothing to do, yea
'many times they be ſcant members of it, and
'the Church in each Country may ſtand without
'Princes, as in perſecution it doth, and yet they
'not Headleſs.'

Thus did this learned prelate ſtate and defend the Regale or King's ſupremacie: and it is eaſy to ſhew that his Lordſhip ſpoke the true ſenſe and meaning of King *Henry* himſelf, his Biſhops and Clergy and their Succeſſors. And yet the learned Mr. *Collier* is pleaſed to argue againſt it as the Jeſuits did, as if princes by their ſupre-
Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 610. col. 2. p. 88. col. 1. macy were to ſettle Controverſies of Faith, or decide debates concerning Belief: That by the Act 26 *Hen.* VIII. cap. 1. Our Kings are made Judges in Matters of Faith, and are authoriſed to manage the Government of the Church at pleaſure ſo that the very Being of the Chriſtian Religion lies at their Mercy. Which a later Writer chooſes thus to expreſs in a ſort of Fanatic rage.
Preface to the Life of Sir Tho *More by his Grandſon*, 1726. 'The Commiſſion, ſays he, which our Saviour
'had granted to his Apoſtles and their Succeſſors
'was ſet aſide by an humane Law, and the Au-
'thority they derived from Heaven transfer'd
'upon the State. The care of Souls was made to
'devolve upon the Civil Power, and the being of
'Chriſtianity to depend upon the Will of the
'Magiſtrate.'

Much the ſame reply to this paſſage of *Cal-*
ad *C. Bellarmi*: Apologi reſpon. c. 1. *vin*'s was made by Bp. *Andrews*. 'Calvin's in-
'vective, ſays he, againſt thoſe who called *Hen.*
'VIII. Head of the Church was occaſioned by
'a miſtake of the matter of fact. For he thought
'they had not removed the Pope, but only chang-

ed

'ed him, the King being tranſubſtantiated into 'a Pope. But, ſays he to *Bellarmine*, *we* do not 'attribute *that* to the King which *you* do to the 'Pope; nor would the King accept of it, ſhould 'we aſcribe it to him.'

But to return to Sir *Thomas More*. As ſtrongly prejudiced as he was againſt the King's Primacy or Supremacy, it appears by the following account of his Life, that he was not ſo extravagant in his notions of the Papal power as ſome others were. I've before obſerved that he tells *Tyndall* that he never put the Pope for part of the definition of the Church, defining it to be the *common known congregation of all Chriſtian Nations under one Head the Pope*. Nay he affirms that a General Council is above the Pope, and that 'there are 'orders in Chriſt's Church by which a Pope may 'be both admoniſhed and amended, and hath been 'for incorrigible mind and lack of amendment 'finally depoſed and changed.' Which is the very ſame concluſion that Dr. *Wiclif* maintained, and which was condemned by the Council of *Conſtance*. Sir *Thomas* ſeems to have thought that a Pope was not of the eſſence of the Viſible Church, which might ſubſiſt without a Pope under the government of provincial Patriarchs, or Archbiſhops.

Engliſh Works p. 514. col. 2

I beg leave to add one particular more concerning Sir *Thomas*, as a proof of his great integrity. His friend *Eraſmus* obſerves that he ſtood but on ill terms with the Cardinal the King's prime Miniſter of State. The Cardinal ſays he, when he was alive was far from being favourable to *More* and rather feared than loved him. Somewhat of this is intimated in the following Life. It ſeems Sir *Thomas* had courage enough to oppoſe him both in the Parliament and at the Council Board. To this latter Sir *Thomas* himſelf, ſeems to refer in the ſtory he tells us of the Cardinal's Project

of our taking the Emperor's part in the war He was engaged in againſt *France*, being there oppoſed by ſome of the Council. 'Some, ſays he,

Letters at the end of his Engliſh Works

'thought it wiſdome that we ſhould ſit ſtill and 'let them alone: but evermore againſt that way 'my lord uſed the fable of thoſe wiſe men that 'becauſe they would not be waſhed with the 'rayne that ſhold make all the people fools went 'themſelf in caves and hid them under the 'ground: But when the rayne had once made 'all the remenaunt fooles, and that they came out 'of their caves and wold utter their wiſdome, 'the fooles agreed together againſt them and 'there all to beat them. And ſo, ſaid his Grace, 'that if we wold be ſo wiſe that we wold ſit in 'peace while the fools fought, they would not 'fail after to make peace and agree, and fall at 'length all upon us. This fable, adds Sir *Thomas*, 'for his parte, did in his dayes help the King 'and the Realme to ſpend many a fayre penny.'

To the Cardinal's Vanity and influence Sir *Thomas* imputed the gay & pompous dreſs and apparel then in faſhion among the Biſhops and Clergy, which he diſliked himſelf, and which gave great Offence to other ſerious and well-diſpoſed Peo-

Engliſh Works, p. 852. col. 1

ple. —— 'for oughte, ſays he, that I can ſee, a 'greate parte of the proude and pompous ap-'paraile that many prieſtes [uſed] in years not 'longe paſte, they were by the pride and over-'ſyght of ſome few forced in a maner agaynſt 'their own willes to weare. ——— I wote well 'it is worne out with manye whiche intende 'hereafter to bye no more ſuche agayne.'

As to the preſent edition of this Life of Sir *Thomas*, I aſſure the reader its an exact copy of a MS of it which I had from a neighbouring Gentleman. It is very fairly written in the hand in common uſe in K. *Henry* VIII and Q. *Eliza-*

*bet*h's

beth's reign, about the beginning of which it ſeems to have been compoſed by M. *Rooper* who was then about 65 years old. I've compared it with the late edition of this Life by Mr. *Hearne* from his* Non-pareil MS. and excepting in two places, where that MS. ſeems to claim the preference, it's very plain, that this is much more complete and perfect than the other, as repreſenting intelligibly what in *Hearne*'s edition 1716.
is downright nonſenſe. I'll only give two or three inſtances out of near an hundred that might be produced for this purpoſe.

Hearn's edit. p. 4. runs thus. *Who ere ever he had beene reader in Court:* whereas here it is, *Who before ever he had read in the Innes of Court.*

P. 9. *in all your heigh courts of Parliam.* Here it is *in your high court of Parliament.*

—— *it could not faile to lett and put to ſilence from the givinge of theire advice and counſell many of your diſcrete commons we are utterly diſcharged*—— Of this *Hearn* himſelf did not know what to make and therfore puts his *Sic* in the margin: but here the Sentence is plain, *it could not faile to let and put to ſilence from the givinge of their advice and counſell many of your diſcrete commons*, to the great hindrance of the common affairs, except that everie one of your commons *weare utterly diſcharged*———

P. 12. —*he began to talke of that Gallery at* Hampton-Court. —— but here it is, *he began to talke of the gallery*, [at *Whitehall* where the Cardinal and he were walking] *Sayinge, I like this gallerie of your's much better than your Gallerie at Hampton-Court.*

* At the beginning of it, *Herne* tells us, is this little note *in hoc ſigno † vinces*; This he critically obſerves is a ſufficient proof that it was either copied from the Original or from ſome copy of great note. ——— *riſum teneatis?*

li. 18. *Hearne* attempts a correction of the blunder *allweit*. *Sic*, ſais he, *pro albeit*. But here we are ſhéwn it ſhould be *all-weare-it*.

P. 19. *he beſough his grace of ſufficient reſpect adviſed to conſider of it*, which is nonſenſe; but here it is right, *he beſought his grace of ſufficient* reſpite *to conſider of it adviſedlie*.

Pag. 18. *Cardinal Woolſey waxed ſo wooe there with*. Where is the ſenſe of this? But here it is as it ſhould be, *Cardinal* Woolſey, *I ſay*, waxed ſo woodd therewith: or ſo mad therwith.

For the eaſe, as I thought, of the reader it is I who have dividved this Life into Sections, which in the MS. from which I copied it, is one continued Narrative without any Diſtinction of Paragraphs, &c. — I have alſo added ſuch Paſſages in the Margin taken from *Eraſmus* and Sir *Thomas*'s own Works as ſeemed to me to give light to this Hiſtory: And at the end of all I've placed by themſelves the copies of ſeveral Letters of Sir *Thomas's*, printed by Mr. Juſtice *Raſtall*, his Siſters Son, to ſome of which Mr. *Roper* has referr'd his reader, the Book in which they are being now very ſcarce and not to be come at but with difficultie.

J. LEWIS.

The Mirrour of Virtue in Worldly Greatnes or The Life of Syr *Thomas More* ſometime Lo: Chancellour of *England* at *Paris* M.D.C.XXVI. 12°.

N. B. This is Printed from either a faulty MS. of Mr. *Rooper*'s, or elſe is altered by the editor T. P. See p. 3. among the Notes where his Book is ſaid by Miſtake to be 8° 1616.

THE

THE LIFE *and* DEATH OF Sir *Thomas Moore*, Sometimes *Lord-Chauncellour* of ENGLAND.

I. FOrſomuche as Sir *Thomas Moore* Knight ſometime Lord Chauncellor of *England*, a man of ſingular virtue and of a cleere unſpotted conſcience, as witneſſeth * *Eraſmus*, more pure and white then the whiteſt ſnowe, of ſuche an angelicall witt as *England*, he ſaiethe, never had the like before, nor ever ſhall agen, univerſally, as well in the lawes of the Realme (a ſtudie in effect able to occupie the whole life of a man) as in all other

*——cui pectus erat omni nive candidius, ingenium quale *Anglia* nec habuit unquam, nec habitura eſt, alioquin nequaquam infelicium ingeniorum parens. Epiſt. Lib. xxix. epi. 42.

other ſciences, right well ſtudied, was in his daies accounted a man worthie famous memory: I *William Roper* (though moſt unworthie) his ſonne in lawe by marriage of his eldeſt daughter, knoweinge his dooings and minde, noe man livinge ſoe well by reaſon I was continually reſident in his houſe by the ſpace of ſixteene yeeres and more, thought it therfore my part to ſet forthe ſuche matters touchinge his life as I could at this preſent call to remembrance, amongſt which thinges verie manie notable, not meet to have binne forgotten, through negligence and [c] longe continuance of time are ſlipped over out of my minde. Yet to thintent that the ſame ſhould not utterlie periſhe, I have at the deſier of manie worſchipfull freindes of mine, though very farre from the grace and worthines of him, nevertheles as farre forthe as my meane wit, memorie and knowledge would ſerve me, declared ſo much thearof as in my poore judgment ſeemed worthie to be remembred.

[c] Mr *Rooper* did not write this Life till after 1557. two and twenty years after Sir *Thom.* death at leaſt.

II. This Sir *Thomas Moore* after he had binne brought upp in the Latine tonge at † St. *Anthonye*'s in *London* was by his Father's procurement received into the houſe of the right reverend, wiſe and learned Prelate Cardinall † *Morton*

* The MS publiſhed by Mr. *Hearne* tho' manifeſtly very faulty, yet here ſeems to repreſent the Original rightly —— (*a ſtudie in effect able to occupie the whole life of a man*) *as in all other ſciences right well ſtudied, was in his dayes counted a man worthie famous memorie.* ——

† in the Pariſh of *Bennet-Fink* in *Threeneedle-Street London*, belonging to the Hoſpital of St. *Anthony* here. This School was in great requeſt in the reign of K *Hen.* VI. and ſince, and at it were divers Perſons of great reputation bred: as beſides Sir *Thomas*, Archbp. *Heath* and Archbp *Whitgift*. *Newcourt*'s Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 286.

†*Morton*, wheare, though he weare yonge of yeeres, yet would he at Chriſtmaſſe ſuddainlie ſometimes ſtep in amonge the * players and never ſtudyeinge for the matter make a part of his owne theare preſentlie amonge them, which made the lookers on more ſport then all the players beſide: In whoſe wit and towardnes the Cardinall muche delightinge would often ſaie of him to the nobles that divers times dined with him, *This childe heere waitinge at the table, whoſoever ſhall live to ſee it, will prove a marveilous man.* Whearuppon for his better furtheraunce in learninge he placed him at ** *Oxforde*, wheare when he was in the †† *Greeke* and *Latine* tonges ſufficientlie inſtructed, he was then for the ſtudie of the lawe of the Realme put to an Inne of Chauncerie, called *New Inne.* He verie well proſpered for his time, and from thence was admitted to *Lincolne*'s *Inne* with very * ſmall allowance, continueinge theare his ſtudie untill he was made and accounted a worthie utter Barriſter. After this, to his great commendacions, he read for a good ſpace a publique lecture of St. *Auguſtine* * *de civitate Dei* in the churche

Archbp. of *Canterbury*. 1486—1501.

* ut nec ad reficiendos calceos, niſi a patre peteret pecuniam haberet.

† Sir *Thomas* thus ſpeaks of this Cardinal, and Archbp. The Bp. *Morton* of *Ely* was a man of gret natural wit, very wel learned and honourable in behaviour, lacking no wiſe ways to win favour. —— K. *Henry* VII made him A. Bp. of *Canterbury* and Chancellour of *England*, wherunto the Pope joined thonour of *Cardinal*. *Hiſtory of* K. Richard III.

* Whilſt he was a youth in his Father's houſe in *London* he devyſed a goodlye hangyng of fyne paynted clothe with 9 Pageauntes and verſes over of every of theſe Pageauntes, which verſes expreſſed and declared what the images in thoſe Pageauntes repreſented. *More*'s Engliſh Works.

Adoleſcens comœdiolas et ſcripſit et egit. *Eraſmi* Epiſt.

** in St. *Mary* Hall. *Wood* Atheneæ Vol. I. col. 32.

†† This was a language not very commonly taught or learned at this time in *England*. Sir *Thomas* learn'd it of *Thomas Lynacre* the famous Phiſician. ibid. col. 12, 14.

* *Auguſtini* libros *de civitate Dei* publice profeſſus eſt; adhuc pene adoleſcens auditorio frequenti, nec puduit, nec pœnituit ſacerdotes ac ſenes a juvene profano ſacra diſcere. *Eraſmi* epiſt.

churche of St. *Lawrence* in the owld *Jurie* whearunto theare reſorted Doctor * *Groſſin* an excellent cunninge man, and all the chiefe learned of the cittie of *London*. Theare was he made Reader of *Furnifolds* Inne ſo remayninge by the ſpace of [three yeres] and more. After which time he gave himſelfe to deuotion and prayer in the Charterhouſe of *London*, religiouſlie livinge theare without vowe the ſpace of *fower* Yeeres, until he reſorted to the houſe of one Mr. *Colte* a gentleman of *Eſſex* that had often invited him thither, havinge three daughters whoſe honeſt converſacion and virtuous educacion provoked him theare ſpeciallie to ſet his affeccion. And albeit his minde moſt ſerved him to the ſeconde daughter for that he thought her the fayreſt and beſt favoured, yet when he conſidered that it would be bothe great griefe and ſome ſhame to the eldeſt to ſee her yonger ſiſter preferred before her in marriage, he then of a certaine pittie framed his fancye to her, and ſoone after † married her, never the more diſcontinueinge his ſtudie of the lawe at *Lincolne*'s *Inne*, but applyeinge ſtill the ſame untill he was called to the Benche, and had ** reade theare twiſe which is as often as any Judge of the lawe dothe ordinarily reade.

III. Before

* *William Grocyn* born in the City of *Briſtol*, and afterwards about 1504, was made Maſter of the College of *Allhallows* at *Maidſtone* in *Kent* where he died in the beginning of the Year 1522. Among other things he wrote a Tract in Latin againſt *Wiclif*'s Wicket. *Wood* Athenæ Vol. I. col. 13, 14.

† Maluit maritus eſſe caſtus, quam Sacerdos impurus. *Eraſmi* Epiſt.

Virginem duxit admodum puellam, claro genere natam, rudem adhuc utpote ruri inter parentes ac ſorores ſemper habitam, quo magis illi liceret illam ad ſuos mores fingere. Hanc et literis inſtruendam curavit, et omni Muſices genere doctam reddidit. *Eraſmi* Epiſt.

**——— if I were againe to read in *Lincolnes-Inne*, and there were in hand with a ſtatute that touched Treaſon. *More*'s Engliſh Works, p. 963. col. 2

III. Before which time he had placed his wife and children at *Bucklers-Burye* in *London* wheare he had by her * 3 daughters and one ſonne in virtue and learninge brought up from their youth, whome he woulde often exhorte to take virtue and learninge for their meate, and plaie for their ſawce. Who before ever he had read in the Innes of Court was in the late time of Kinge *Henrye* the ſeaventhe made a Burgeſſe of the Parliament whearin was demanded by the Kinge (as I have heard reported) abowte 3 fifteenes for the marriage of his eldeſt daughter that then ſhould be the Scottiſhe Queene, at the laſt debatinge whearof he made ſuche arguments and reaſons thearagainſt, that the Kinges demaundes weare thearbye overthrowen. Soe that one of the King's privie chamber, named Mr. *Tyler*, beinge preſent thearat, brought worde to the Kinge out of the Parliament houſe that a beardles boye had diſapointed all his purpoſe. Whearuppon the Kinge conceivinge great indignacion towards him could not be ſatisfied untill he had ſome waie revenged it. And foraſmuche as he nothinge havinge, nothinge could loſe, his grace deuiſed a cauſeles quarrell againſt his † Father, keepinge him in the Tower till he had made him paie to him a *hundred* pounds fine. Shortlie heeruppon it fortuned that this Sir *Thomas Moore* comminge in a ſuite to Doctor ** *Fox* byſhop of *Winchester*

16 or 17. *Hen.* 7. AD. 1501.

Sir *Thomas* was now but 21.

The Kings Almoner.

* *Margaret*, *Elizabeth*, *Cicely*, *John*, who were all married very young.

† Sir *John More* Knt. one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench.

** Dr. *Richard Fox*. To this Prelate Bp. *Fiſher*. A D. 1525. dedicated his book againſt *Oecolampdius*, in which dedication he tells the Biſhop, That *by the breath of his favour ever ſince he had taken notice of him, he had not only been enflamed towards the ſtudy of good letters, but likewiſe more ardently to embrace Probity of Life.*

Winchester one of the King's privie counsell, the Byshop called him aside, and pretended great favour towards him, and promised that if he would be ruled by him he would not faile but bringe him into the Kinges favor againe, meaninge, as it afterward appeared, to cause him thearbie to confesse his offence againste the Kinge, whearby his highnes might with the better cullor have occasion to revenge his displeasure against him. But when he came from the Byshop, he fell in communicacion with one Mr. * *Whitford* his familiar freind then Chaplayne to that Byshop, and afterward a Father of *Syon*, and shewed him what the Byshop had saied to him, desiringe to heere his advise thearin, who for the passion of GOD pray'd him in noe wise to followe his councell, for my Lord, quoth he, to serve the Kinge's turne will not sticke to agree to his owne Father's deathe. Soe Sir *Thomas Moore* returned to the Byshop noe more, and had not the Kinge soone after dyed he was determined to have gone over sea, thinkinge that beinge in the King's indignacion he could not live in *England* without great daunger.

IV. After this he was made one of the † under-sheriffes of *London*, by which office and his learninge togeather (as I have heard him saie) he gained without griefe not soe little as 4 hundred pounds by the yeere. * Sothe theare was at that time in none of the Princes † courts of the lawes of

* Indeed.

* *Richard Whytforde* who being minded to leave the world and all hopes of Preferment entred himself a Monk of the Order of St. *Brigit* in the Monastery called *Sion* near to *Brentford* in *Middlesex*. *Wood* Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 51. In his writings he stiles himself *the wretch of* Sion.

†† Of this his being so fully employed he gives the following account to his friend *Peter Giles* in a Letter to him præfixed

of this Realme any matter of importance or controverſie whearin he was not with the one partie of counſaile. Of whome for his learninge, wiſdome, knowledge and experience men had ſuche eſtimacion that before he came into the ſervice of Kinge *Henry* the eight, at the ſuite and inſtance of the Engliſhe Merchants, he was, by the King's conſent, made twiſe embaſſadour in certaine great cauſes betwixt them and the Merchants of the *Stilliard*. Whoſe wiſe and diſcreet dealinge thearine, to his high commendacion, comminge to the Kinge's underſtandinge provoaked his Highnes to cauſe Cardinall *Wolſey*, then Lord Chauncellor, to procure him to his ſervice. And albeit the Cardinall, accordinge to the King's requeſt, earneſtlie * travailed with him therfore, amonge manye other his perſwaſions alleaginge unto him how deere his ſervice muſt needes be unto his Majeſtie which could not with his honor but recompence him liberallie; Yet he, † loathe to

* labour'd

fixed to his *Utopia*. *Dum cauſas forenſes aſſidue alias ago, alias audio, alias arbiter finio, alias judex dirimo, dum hic officij cauſa viſitur, ille negocij; dum foris totum ferme diem alijs impartior, reliquum meis relinquo mihi, hoc eſt literis, nihil.*

In urbe *Londinenſi* in qua natus eſt, annos aliquot Judicem egit in cauſis civilibus. Id munus, ut minimum habet oneris (nam non ſedetur niſi die *Jovis* uſque ad Prandium) ita cum primis honorificum habetur. Nemo plures cauſas abſolvit, nemo ſe geſſit integrius, remiſſa pleriſque pecunia quam ex Præſcripto debent qui litigant. Siquidem ante litis conteſtationem actor deponit tres drachmas, totidem reus, nec amplius quicquam fas eſt exigere. His moribus effecit ut Civitati ſuæ longe chariſſimus eſſet. Decreverat autem hac fortuna eſſe contentus, quæ et ſatis haberet autoritatis, nec tamen eſſet gravibus obnoxia periculis. *Eraſmi* Epiſt.

† Ab aula, Principumque familiaritate olim fuit alienior, quod illi ſemper peculiariter inviſa fuerit Tyrannis quemadmodum æqualitas gratiſſima —— Quin nec in *Henrici* 8i. aulam pertrahi potuit, niſi multo negotio, cum hoc Principe nec optari quicquam poſſit civilius aut modeſtius. Semel

to chaunge his eſtate, made ſuche meanes unto the Kinge by the Cardinall to the contrary that his Grace for that time was well ſatisfied. Now happened it after this, a great ſhip of his that was the Pope to arrive at *Southampton*, which the Kinge clayminge for a forfeyture, the Pope's embaſſador by ſute unto his grace obteyned that he might for his Maſter the Pope have counſaile learned in the lawes of this Realme; and the matter in his preſence, (beinge himſelfe a ſingular civilian) in ſome publique place to be openlie heard and diſcuſſed. At which time theare could none in our Lawe be founde ſo meete as our Sir *Thomas Moore* to be of counſaile with this Embaſſadour, who could repeate to the Embaſſador in Latine all the reaſons and arguments by the learned counſaile on bothe ſides alleadged. Uppon this the Counſailers of eyther part, in preſence of the Lord Chauncellor and other the Judges in the Starre Chamber had audience accordinglie. Wheare Sir *Thomas Moore* not only declared to the Embaſſadour the whole effect of all their opinions, but allſoe in defence of the Pope's ſide argued ſoe learnedlie himſelfe that bothe was the aforeſaied forfeiture reſtored to the Pope, and himſelfe amonge all the heerers for his uppright and commendable demeanor thearin ſoe greatlie renowned, that for noe intreatie would the Kinge from hence forthe be
1513. induced any longer to forbeare his Service. At whoſe firſt entrie thearunto he made him Maſter of the Requeſts, having then noe better roome voyde

Semel atque iterum extruſus eſt in legationem, in qua cum ſe cordatiſſime geſſiſſet non conquievit ſereniſſimus Rex *Henricus* ejus nominis *octavus* donec hominem in aulam ſuam pertraheret. Cur enim non dicam pertraheret? Nullus unquam vehementius ambijt in aulam admitti quam hic ſtuduit effugere. *Eraſmi* Epiſt.

voyde, and within a monethe after Knight, and one of his privie Councell. And soe was he from time to time by the Kinge advanced, continueinge in his singular favour and trustie service 20 yeeres and above. A good part thearof used the Kinge uppon holie daies when he had donne his owne devotions to † sende for him into his * traverse, * closet and theare sometimes in matters of Astronomy, Geometry, Divinity, and suche other Faculties, and sometimes of his worldlie affaires, to sit and conferre with him. And otherwhile in the night would he have him up into his leades theare to consider with him the diversities, courses, motions and opperacions of the starres and planets. And because he was of a pleasant dispocicion, it pleased the Kinge and Queene after the counsaile had suppt, yea at the time of their supper, to sende for him to be merry with them. Who when he perceaved soe muche in his talke to delight that he could not in a monethe get leave to goe home to his wife and children (* whose company he most desired) and to be absent from the Court two daies together but that he should be thither sent for againe, he muche mislikinge this restraint of libertye, beganne thearuppon somewhat to dissemble his natuer, and soe by little and little from his former accustomed mirthe to disuse himselfe that he was of them from thenceforthe noe more soe ordinarilie sent for at

† *Morum* in primis accivit Rex, quem sic in intimis habet ut a se nunquam patiatur discedere, sive serijs utendum est, nihil illo consultius, sive visum est Regi fabulis amænioribus laxare animum, nullus comes festivior. *Erasmi* Epist.

* Thus he represents to his friend *Peter Gyles* the manner of his treating them: *Nempe reverso domum, cum uxore fabulandum est, garriendum cum liberis.*

1520. ſuche ſeaſons. Then dyed one Mr. *Weſton* * threaſurer of the Excheaker whoſe office after his deathe the Kinge of his offer freelie without anie askinge gave unto Sir *Thomas Moore*.

A.D.1523 in the *blackfriers* V. In the xiiij yeere of his gracious raigne theare was a parliament holden, whearof Sir *Thomas Moore* was choſen ſpeaker. Who beinge very lothe to take this roome uppon him made an Oracion, not now extant, to the Kinge for his diſchardge thearof. Whearunto when the Kinge would not conſent, he ſpake unto his Grace in forme followeinge.

Sithe, I perceave, moſt redoubted ſoveraigne, that it ſtandeth not with your pleaſure to reforme this eleccion, and cauſe it to be chaunged, but have by the mouthe of the moſt reverend Father in GOD my Lord Legate your Highnes Chauncellor thearunto given your royal aſſent, and have of your benignitie

*——Quum antea Regi tantum eſſet a conſilijs, nuper nec ambiens, nec expetens, ultroneo favore Principis humaniſſimi et eques auratus factus eſt, et munus habet apud *Britannos* cum honorificum imprimis tum etiam Salarij non penitendi quod appellatur a *Theſauris*.

Eſt quod *Moro* gratuleris. Nam Rex hunc nec ambientem nec flagitantem munere magnifico honeſtavit, addito Salario nequaquam penitendo. Eſt enim Principi ſuo *a Theſauris*. *Eraſmi* Epiſt.

Sir *Thomas* himſelf thus enumerates his Promotions: ‘ When, ſays he, I was firſte ofthe Kinge's Counſaile, and after ‘ his under Treaſurer, and in the time while I was Chaun- ‘ cellour of the Duchy of *Lancaſter*.’ *Engliſh Works*, p. 868. ‘ col. 1.

Whilſt he was Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer His friend *Cuthbert Tonſtall* dedicated to him his book *De Arte ſupputandi*, for which he gives him the following reaſon: ‘ Cui — ‘ aptiora hæc quam tibi eſſe poſſunt, qui totus in ſupputationi- ‘ bus excutiendis occupatus in Regni ærario poſt Præfectum ‘ primas tenes?

nignitie determined farre above that I maie beare to enable me & for this office to repute me meet; rather then you ſhould ſeem unto your Commons that they had made an unfit choice, I am thearfore and alwaies ſhall be readie obedientlie to conforme my ſelfe to thaccompliſhment of your Highnes pleaſure & commaundement. In moſt humble wiſe beſeechinge your moſt noble Majeſtie that I maie with your graces favour before I farther enter thearinto make my humble peticion for two lowlie peticions: the one privatelie concearninge my ſelfe, the other the whole aſſemblie of your common houſe. For my ſelfe, gracious Soveraigne, that if hit miſhappe me, in any thinge heerafter that is on the behalfe of your Commons in your high preſence to be declared, to miſtake my meſſage, and in the lacke of good utterance by my miſreherſal to pervert or impaire their prudent inſtruccions, It maie then like youre moſt noble Majeſty of your abundant grace with the eye of your wonted pittie to pardon my ſimplenes givinge me leave to repaire againe to the common houſe and theare to conferre with them, and to take theare ſubſtanciall adviſe what thinges and in what wiſe I ſhall on their behalfe utter and ſpeake before your noble grace to thintent theyr prudent deviſes and affaires be not by my ſimplenes and follie hindred or impaired. Which thinge if it ſhould ſoe happen, as it weare like to miſhappen me yf your gracious benignitie relieved not my overſight, it could not faile to be duringe my life a perpetuall grudge and heavines to my heart. The helpe and remedie wherof in manner afore remembred, is (my gratious Soveraigne) my firſt lowly ſuite and humble peticion unto your Noble Grace.

My other humble requeſt, moſt excellent Prince, is this. Forſomuch as theare be of your commons heere by your high commandment aſſembled for your Parliament a great number, which are after your accuſtomed manner appointed in the common houſe to entreat and adviſe of the common affaires amonge themſelves apart: And albeit, moſt deare leige Lord, that accordinge to your prudent adviſe by your honorable writes everie wheare declared, theare hathe binne as due dilligence uſed in ſendinge up to your Highnes Court of Parliament the moſt diſcreet Perſons out of everie quarter that men could eſteeme moſt meet thearunto. Whearby it is not to be doubted that theare is a verie ſubſtantiall aſſemblie of right wiſe, meet and politique Perſons: Yet, moſt virtuous Prince, ſithe amonge ſoe many wiſe men neyther is everie man wiſe alike, nor amonge ſoe many alike well wittie everie man alike well ſpoken, and it often happeneth that likewiſe as much follie is uttered with painted poliſhed ſpeeche, ſoe manie boiſtrous and rude in language ſee deepe indeed, and give righte ſubſtanciall councell; and ſithe alſoe in matters of great importance the minde is ſoe often occupied in the matter that a man rather ſtudiethe what to ſaie then how, by reaſon whearof the wiſeſt man and beſt ſpoken in a whole cuntry fortuneth while his minde is fervent in the matter, ſomewhat to ſpeake in ſuche wiſe as he would afterward wiſhe to have binne uttered otherwiſe, and yet noe worſe will had he when he ſpake it then he had when he would ſo gladlie change it. Therfore, moſt gratious Soueraigne, conſideringe that in your high Court of Parliament is

is nothinge treated but matter of weight & importance concearninge your realme and your royall eſtate, it could not faile to *let & put to ſilence from the givinge of their adviſe & counſaile manie of your diſcreet Commons, to the great hindrance of the common affaires, except that everie one of your commons weare utterlie diſchardged of all doubts and feares how any thing that it ſhold happen them to ſpeak ſhold happen of your highnes to be taken: And in this point though your well knowen and proved benignitie putteth everie man in good hope, yet ſuche is the weight of the matter, ſuche is the reverend dreade that the timerous hearts of your naturall ſubjects conceive towards your high Majeſtie our moſt redoubted Kinge and undoubted Soueraigne, that they cannot in this point finde themſelves ſatisfied except your gratious bountie thearin declared put awaie the ſcruple of their timerous mindes, and animate and incourage them and put them out of doubt. Yt maie therfore like your moſt aboundant grace, our moſt benigne and godlie Kinge, to give all youre Commons heere aſſembled your moſt gracious licenſe and pardon freelie without doubt of your dreadfull diſpleaſure everie man to diſchardge his conſcience, and boldlie in everie thinge incident amonge us to declare his adviſe; and, whatſoever happen anie man to ſaie, that it maie like your Majeſtie of your ineſtimable goodneſſe to take all in good part, interpretinge everie mans wordes, how cunningelie ſoever they be couched, to proceed yet of good zeale towards the profit of your realme and honor of your royal Perſon, the proſperous eſtate and preſervacion whearof, moſt excellent ſoveraigne, is the thinge which we all

* hind:r

your lovinge ſubjects accordinge to our moſt bounden dutie of our naturall allegiance, moſt highlie deſier and praie for.

V. At this Parliament Cardinall *Wolſey* fownde himſelfe muche greived with the Burgeſſes thearof for that nothinge was ſoe ſoone donne or ſpoken thearin but that it was immediatelye blowne abroad in everie alehouſe. It fortuned at that Parliament a verie great ſubſidie to be demanded, which the Cardinall fearinge would not paſſe the Common houſe determined for the furtherance thearof to be perſonallie theare himſelfe. Before whoſe comminge after longe debatinge theare whither it weare better but with a fewe of his Lords, as the moſt opinions of the houſe was, or with his whole traine to receave him theare amongſt them: 'Maſters, 'quoth Sir *Thomas Moore*, foraſmuche as my 'Lord Cardinall latelie laied to our charges the 'lightnes of our tonges for things uttered out 'of this houſe, it ſhall not in my minde be a-'miſſe to receave him with all his pompe, with 'his maces, his * pillers, pollaxes, his croſſes, 'his hatt and the greate ſeale to; to thintent 'that if he finde the like fault with us heerafter 'Wee maie be the bolder from ourſelves to laie 'the blame on thoſe that his grace bringeth 'hither with him.' Whearunto the houſe agreeinge he was receaved accordinglie. Wheare after that he had in a ſolemne Oration by manie reaſons proved how neceſſarie it was the demande theare moved to be graunted, and further ſhewed that leſſe woulde not ſerve to maintaine the Princes

* Every Cardinal of the Roman Church has a Pillar of Silver carried before him as an emblem of his being a Pillar of the Church. But *Wolſey* out of his love of Pomp and Splendor had two born before him.

Princes purpoſe, He ſeeinge the companie ſittinge ſtill ſilent and thearunto nothinge anſwearinge, contrarye to his expectacion ſhewinge in themſelves towardes his requeſt noe towardnes of inclinacion, ſaied unto them, 'Maſters, you 'have many wiſe and learned men amongſt you, 'and ſince I am from the Kinge's owne Perſon 'ſent hither unto you for the preſervacion of 'your ſelves and all the Realme, I thinke it 'meete you give me ſome reaſonable anſweare.' Whereat everie man holdinge his peace, then beganne he to ſpeake to one Mr. *Marney*, afterward Lord *Marney*, How ſaie you, quothe hee, Mr. *Marney*? who makinge him noe anſweare neyther, he ſeuerallie asked the ſame queſtion of diverſe other accompted the wiſeſt of the companye, to whome when none of them all would give ſo muche as one worde, being agreed before, as the cuſtome was, to anſweare by their Speaker, 'Maſters, quoth the Cardinall, unleſſe 'it be the manner of your houſe, as of likelihood 'it is, by the mouthe of your Speaker whome 'you have choſen for truſtie and wiſe, as he is 'indeed, in ſuch caſes to utter your mindes, 'heere is without doubt a marveilous obſtinate 'ſilence,' and therfore he required anſweare of Mr. Speaker. Who firſt reverentlie on his knees excuſinge the ſilence of the houſe, abaſhed at the preſence of ſo noble a perſonage able to amaze the wiſeſt in a Realme, and after by many probable arguments provinge that for them to make anſweare it was neyther expedient nor agreeable with the auntient libertie of the houſe, in concluſion for himſelfe ſhewed that though they had all with their voices truſted him, yet except everie one of them could put into his head of their ſeverall witts, he alone in ſoe weightie a matter was unfit to make his grace anſweare.

Sir *Henry Marney*, Knt. of the Garter

anſweare. Whearuppon the Cardinall, diſpleaſed with Sir *Thomas Moore* that had not in this Parliament in all things ſatisfied his deſire, ſuddenlie aroſe and departed.

VI. And after the Parliament ended, in his gallarie at *White-hall* at *Weſtminſter* [he] uttered unto him his griefes ſayeinge: Would GOD you had binne at *Roome*, Mr. *Moore*, whcn I made you ſpeaker. Your grace not offended ſoe would I to, quoth Sir *Thomas Moore*. And to winde ſuche quarrells out of the Cardinall's head, he beganne to talke of the gallarie, ſayeinge, I like this gallarie of yours muche better then your gallarie at *Hampton-Court*. Whearwith ſoe wiſelie broke he off the Cardinal's diſpleaſant talke, that the Cardinall at that preſent, as it ſeemed, wiſt not what more to ſaie unto him; But for the revengment of his diſpleaſure * counſailed the Kinge to ſende him Embaſſadour to *Spaine*, commendinge to his highnes his wiſdome, fittnes and learninge for that voyage. And, the difficultie of the cauſe conſidered, none was theare, he ſaid, ſoe fit to ſerve his grace thearin. Which when the Kinge had broken to Sir *Thomas Moore*, and that he had declared unto his grace how unfit a journey it was for him, the nature of the countrye, the diſpoſicionn of his complexion ſoe diſagreeinge togeather that he ſhould never be able to doe his grace acceptable ſervice theare, knoweinge right well that if his grace ſente him thither he ſhould ſende him to his grave; but ſhewinge himſelfe nevertheleſſe readie accordinge to his duty, allweare it with the loſſe of his life, to fullfill his graces pleaſure in that behalfe: The

* Cardinalis dum viveret *Moro* parum æquus erat, eumque metuebat verius quam amabat. *Eraſmi* Epiſt.

The Kinge alloweinge well his anſweare, ſaied unto him: 'It is not our pleaſure, Mr. *Moore*, 'to doe you hurt, but to doe you good would 'we be glad. We will therfore for this pur- 'poſe deviſe uppon ſome other, and imploie 'your ſervice otherwiſe.' And ſuche entier favour did the Kinge beare him, that he made hime Chauncellor of the Duchie of *Lancaſter* 1528. uppon the deathe of Sir *Richard Wingfield* who had that office before. And for the pleaſure he tooke in his companie would his grace ſuddenlie ſometimes come home to his houſe at *Chelſey* to be merry with him, Whither, on a time, unlooked for he came to dinner to him, and after dinner in a faire garden of his walked with him by the ſpace of an hower holdinge his arme about his necke. As ſoone as his grace was gone I rejoycinge thearat, ſaide to Sir *Thomas Moore*, how happie he was whome the Kinge had ſoe familliarlie entertained as I never had ſeene him doe to any other, except Cardinall *Wolſey* whome I ſawe his grace walke once with arme in arme. 'I thanke our Lord, ſonne, quothe he, I finde 'his grace my very good Lord indeed, and I 'beleive he dothe as ſingularlie favor me as 'anye ſubject within this Realme: howbeit, 'Sonne *Rooper*, I maie tell thee, I have no cauſe to 'be prowde thearof, for if my head would winne 'him a Caſtle in *Fraunce* (for then was theare 'warres beetwixt us) it ſhoulde not faile to goe.'

VII. This Sir *Thomas Moore*, amonge all other his virtues, was of ſuch meeknes, that if it had fortuned him with any learned men reſortinge to him from *Oxford* or *Cambridge* or elſewheare, as theare did diverſe, ſome for deſier of his acquaintance, ſome for the famous report of his wiſdome and learninge, ſome for

ſuites

ſuites of the Univerſities, to have * entered in argument (whearin weare fewe comparable to him) and ſoe farre to have diſcourſed with them thearin that he might perceave they could not without ſome inconvenience howl'd out muche further diſputacion againſt him, then, leaſt he ſhould diſcourage them, as he that ſought not his owne glorie but rather would ſeeme conquered then to diſcourage ſtudents in their ſtudies ever ſhewinge himſelfe more deſirous to learne then to teache, woulde he by ſome wittie deviſe courteouſlie breake of into ſome other matter and give over. Of whome for his wiſdome and learninge had the Kinge ſuche an opinion that at ſuche time as he attended uppon his highnes takinge his progreſſe eyther to *Oxforde* or *Cambridge* wheare he was receaved with very eloquent Oracions, his grace would alwaies aſſigne him as one that was † prompt & readie thearin extempore to make anſweare thearunto. Whoſe manner was, whenſoever he had occaſion either heere or beyond the ſea to be in anie Univerſitie, not onelie to be preſent at the readings and diſputacions theare commonlie uſed, but alſoe learnedlie to diſpute amonge them himſelfe. Who beinge Chauncellor of the Duchie was made Embaſſadour twiſe in commiſſion with Cardinal *Wolſey*, once

* in diſputationibus nihil fingi poteſt acutius adeo ut ſummis etiam Theologis ſæpe negotium faceſſat, in ipſorum arena verſans. *Eraſmi* Epi.

† Vix alium reperias qui felicius dicat extempore adeo felici ingenio felix lingua ſubſervit. Ingenium præſens et ubique prævolans, memoria parata, quæ cum omnia habeat velut in numerato, prompte et incontanter ſuggerit quicquid tempus aut res poſtulat.

Ingenium eſt prorſus incomparabile, memoria fæliciſſima, dicendi facultas promptiſſima. *Eraſmi* Epiſt.

once to th'Emperor *Charles* into *Flanders*, the other time to the Frenche Kinge into *Fraunce*.

VIII. Not longe after this, the Water-bailiffe of *London*, ſometime his ſervant, heeringe wheare he had binne at dinner certaine merchants liberallie to raile againſt his owld Maſter, waxed ſoe diſcontented thearwith that he haſtelie came to him and towld him what he had heard, and weare I, Sir, quothe he, in ſuche favor and authoritie with my prince as you are, ſuche men ſuerlie ſhould not be ſuffered ſoe villanouſlie and falſelie to miſreport and ſlaunder me. Wherfore I would wiſhe you to call them before you, and to their ſhame for their lewde malice to puniſhe them. Who ſmilinge uppon him ſaied, 'Why, Mr. 'Water-bailiff, would you have me puniſhe them 'by whome I receave more benefitt then by you 'all that be my friendes? Let them a Godſname 'ſpeake as lewdelie as they liſt of me, and ſhoote 'never ſoe many arrowes at me, as longe as they 'doe not hit me, what am I the worſe? But if 'they ſhould once hit me then would it indeed 'a little trouble me. Howbeit I truſt by GOD's 'helpe thear ſhall none of them once be able to 'touche me. I have more cauſe, I aſſure you 'Mr. Waterbailiffe, to pittie them then to be 'angrie with them.' Suche fruitefull communicacion had he often with his familiar freinds.

VIII. Soe on a time walkinge with me alonge the *Thames* ſide at *Chelſey*, in talkinge of other thinges he ſaide unto me; 'Now would to our 'Lord, ſonne *Rooper*, uppon condicion that three 'thinges weare well eſtabliſhed in Chriſtendome 'I weare put in a ſacke and heere preſentlie 'caſt into the *Thames*.' What greate thinges be thoſe Sir, quothe I, that you ſhould ſoe wiſhe? 'Wouldſt

'Wouldſt thou knowe, ſonne *Rooper*, what they 'be, quoth he? Yea marye with a good will, 'Sir, if it pleaſe you quoth I. In faith, ſonne, 'they be theſe, quothe he. The *firſt* is That 'whearas the moſt part of Chriſtian Princes be 'at mortall warres they weare all at univerſall 'peace. The *ſecond* that wheare the Churche 'of Chriſt is at this preſent ſore afflicted with 'many errors and hereſies, it weare ſettled in 'perfect uniformitie of religion. The *third*, 'that wheare the matter of the King's marriage 'is now come in queſtion it weare to the glorye 'of GOD and quietnes of all parties brought 'to a good concluſion.' Whearby as I could gather, he judged that otherwiſe it would be a diſturbance to a great part of Chriſtendome. Thus did it, by his dooings throughout the whole courſe of his life, appeere, that all his travaile and paines, without reſpect of earthlie commodities either to himſelfe or any of his, weare onlie uppon the ſervice of GOD, the prince and the Realme wholie beſtowed and emploied, whome I heard in his latter time to ſaie that he never asked of the Kinge for himſelfe the valewe of a pennye.

IX. As Sir *Thomas Moore*'s cuſtome was dailie (if he weare at home) beſides his * private praiers with his children, to ſaie the VII pſalmes, the Lettanie, and the Suffrages followeinge, ſo † manner. was his † guiſe nightlie before he went to bed with his wife, children and houſhold to goe to his chappell, and theare on his knees ordinarily to ſaie certaine pſalmes and collects with them. And becauſe he was deſirous for godlie purpo-

ſes

* Habet ſuas horas quibus DEO litet precibus, non ex more, ſed ex pectore depromptis. *Eraſmi Epiſ.*

ſes ſolitarie to ſequeſter himſelfe from worldlie companie, a good diſtance from his houſe builded he a place called the Newe-buildinge whearin was a Chappell, a Librarie, and a Gallarye, in which, as his uſe was on other daies to occupie himſelfe in prayer and ſtudie theare together, ſoe on the fridaie uſed he continuallie to be theare from Morninge to Night, ſpendinge his time onlie in devout praiers and ſpirituall exerciſes. And to provoake his wife and children to the deſier of heavenlie thinges, he would ſometimes uſe theſe wordes unto them. ‘ * It is now ‘ noe maſtrie for children to goe to heaven, for ‘ everie bodie givethe you good counſaile, everie ‘ bodie giveth you good example. You ſee Vir- ‘ tue rewarded and Vice puniſhed, ſoe that you ‘ are carried up to heaven even by the chinnes. ‘ But if you live the time that noe man will give ‘ you good counſaile, noe man will give you good ‘ example, when you ſhall ſee Virtue puniſhed ‘ and Vice rewarded, if you will then ſtande faſt ‘ and firmelie ſticke to GOD uppon paine of life, ‘ though you be but halfe good, [GOD will al- ‘ low you for whole good.’] Yf his wife or anie of his children had binne diſeaſed or troubled, he would ſaie unto them; ‘ We maie not looke, ‘ at our pleaſures, to goe to heaven in feather- ‘ beds, it is not the way; for the LORD him- ‘ ſelfe went thither in great paine by many tri- ‘ bulacions which was the pathe whearin he ‘ walked thither, for the ſervant maie not looke ‘ to be in better caſe then his Maſter.’ And as he would in this ſort perſwade them to take their trowbles patientlie, ſoe would he in like ſort teache them to withſtand the Divill and his tempta-

* Cum amicis ſic fabulatur de vita futuri ſeculi ut agnoſcas illum ex animo loqui nec ſine optima ſpe. *Eraſmi Epiſt.*

temptacions valiantly, ſayeinge, ‘ Whoſoever ‘ will marke the Divill and his temptacions ſhall ‘ finde him thearin much like to an ape, who ‘ not well looked to will be buiſie and bold to ‘ do ſhrewde turnes, and contrariwiſe beinge ‘ ſpyed will ſuddainelie leape backe and adven- ‘ ture noe farther. Soe the Divill findinge a ‘ man idle, ſloathfull, and without reſiſtance ‘ readie to receave his temptacions waxethe ſoe ‘ hardie that he will not faile ſtill to continewe ‘ with him untill to his purpoſe he have through- ‘ lie brought him. But on the other ſide if he ‘ ſee a man with dilligence perſevere to with- ‘ ſtand his temptations he waxethe ſoe wearie ‘ that in concluſion he utterlie forſaketh him. ‘ For as the divill of diſpoſition is a ſpirit of ‘ ſoe high pride as he cannot abide to be mock- ‘ ed, ſoe is he of natuer ſoe envious that he ‘ fearethe anie more to aſſault him leaſt he ſhould ‘ thearbie not onlie catche a fowle fall himſelfe, ‘ but alſo ſhould miniſter to the man more mat- ‘ ter of merit.’ Thus delighted he evermore not only in vertuous exerciſes to be occupied himſelfe, but alſoe to exhort his wife, children and houſholde to embrace the ſame and followe it. To whome for his notable Virtue and Godlines GOD ſhewed, as it ſeemed, a manifeſt miraculous token of his ſpeciall favour towardes him. At ſuche time as my Wife (as many other that yeere weare) was ſicke of the * ſweatinge ſicknes. Who lyeinge in ſoe great extremitie of that diſeaſe as by no invencion or deviſes that the

1528

* hoc ſudore nemo niſi primo die perit. *Eraſ. epiſ.*

* This diſtemper began at firſt in 1483, in *Henry* the ſeventh's army upon his landing at *Milford-haven* and ſpread it ſelf in *London* from the 21ſt of *September* to the end of *October*. It return'd here five times and always in ſummer: firſt in 1485; then in 1506; afterward in 1517, when it was ſo

the cunningſt and experteſt phiſicions could uſe could keepe her from ſleepe, ſoe that bothe the phiſicions and all other theare preſent diſpaired of her recoverie and gave her over, he, moſt entierlie tendringe her, beinge in no ſmall heavineſſe for her, by praier at GOD's hande ſought to get her remedie. Whearuppon goinge up after his uſuall manner into his aforeſaide Newe-Buildinge theare in his chappell on his knees with teares moſt devoutelie beſought Almightie GOD that it would like his goodneſſe, unto whome nothinge was impoſſible, if it weare his bleſſed will at his prayer to vouchſafe gratiouſly to heere his peticion. Wheare incontinent came into his minde that a gliſter ſhould be the onelie waie to helpe her. Which when he towlde the phiſicions they by and by confeſſed that if theare weare anie hope of healthe that that was the onlie remedie, muche marvailinge of themſelves that they had not afore remembred it. Then was it preſentlie adminiſtred to her ſleepinge * which could by noe meanes have binne brought unto meltinge. And albeit, after that ſhe was thearbie throughlie awaked, GOD's markes (an evident undoubted token of deathe) plainlie appeered uppon her, yet ſhe, contrary to all their expecta-

* Who by no means could have been brought unto ſweating.

ſo violent that it kill'd in the ſpace of three hours. It appeared the fourth time in 1520 and agen in 1528, which ſeems to be the time when this Lady had it, and prov'd mortal in the ſpace of ſix hours. The manner of its ſeizure was thus; firſt it affected ſome particular part, attended with inward heat and burning, unquenchable thirſt, reſtleſſneſs, ſickneſs at ſtomach and heart, (tho ſeldom vomiting) head ach, delirium, then faintneſs, and exceſſive drowſineſs. The pulſe quick and vehement, and the breath ſhort and labouring. None recovered under 24 hours. The only cure was to carry on the ſweat, which was neceſſary for a long time: Sleep to be avoided by all means. Dr. *Friend's* Hiſtory of Phiſick. Vol. II. p. 335, &c. *Mori* ep. *Eraſm.* *Aug.* 1520

expecttations, was, as it was thought, by her father's moſt fervent prayers miraculouſly recovered, & at length to perfect healthe reſtored: whome, if it had pleaſed GOD, at that time to have taken to His mercie, her Father ſaied he would never have medled with worldlie matters more.

IX. Now while Sir *Thomas Moore* was Chauncellor of the Duchie, the See of *Roome* chaunced to be voide which was cauſe of much trouble. For Cardinal *Wolſey*, a man very ambitious, and deſirous (as good hope and likelihood he had) to aſpire to that dignitie, perceivinge himſelfe of his expectacion diſappointed by meanes of th' Emperour *Charles* ſoe highlie commendinge one Cardinall *Adrian* ſometime his Schoolemaſter to the Cardinalls of *Roome* in the time of their eleccion for his virtue and worthines that thearuppon he was choſen Pope; who from *Spaine*, wheare he was then reſident, comminge on foote to *Roome* before his entrye into the Cittie did put of his hoſe and ſhooes, and bareſooted and barelegged paſſed through the cittye ſtreetes towards his Pallace with ſuch humblenes that all the people had him in greate reverence; Cardinall *Wolſey*, I ſaie, waxed ſoe * woodd thearwith, that he ſtudied alwaies to revenge his greiſe againſt the Emperor: which as it was the beginninge of a lamentable tragedie, ſoe ſome part of it, not impertinent to my preſent purpoſe, I recconed requiſite heere to put downe in remembrance.

* A. S. poꝛe mad, cruel, fierce.

X. This Cardinall therfore, not ignorant of the Kinge's inconſtant and mutable diſpoſicion, ſoone enclined to withdrawe his devotion from his

* then he waxed furicuſe mad. *Tyndal* Practice of Prelates.

his owne moſt noble, virtuos and lawfull wife Queene *Katherine* Aunt to th Emperor uppon everie light occaſion, and uppon other, to her in nobillitye, wiſdome, virtue and favour farre incomparable, to fix his affeccion: meaninge to make this his ſo light diſpoſicion an inſtrument to bringe about his ſoe ungodlie intent, deviſed to allure the Kinge (then allreadie contrarie to his minde nothinge leſſe lookinge for then for fallinge in love with Lady *Anne Bullen*) to caſt fancie to one of the French King's Sifters. Which thinge (becauſe of the enmitie and warre that was at that time betweene the French Kinge and th Emperor whome, for the cauſe before remembred, he mortally maligned) he was verie deſirous to procure. * And for the better atcheivinge therof requeſted † *Longland* the Byſhop, beinge ghoſtlie Father to the Kinge, to putt a ſcruple into his graces head that it was not lawfull for him to marrie his brother's wife. Which the Kinge not ſorrie to heere of, opened it firſt unto Sir *Tho. Moore*, whoſe counſaile he requeſted thearin, ſheweinge him certaine places of ſcripture that ſeemed ſomewhat to ſerve his appetite. Which when he had peruſed, and, that; as one which never had profeſſed the ſtudie of Divinitie, himſelfe † excuſed to be unmeet manie waies to meddle with any ſuche matters, the Kinge, not ſatisfied with his anſweare, ſoe ſore ſtill preſſed upon him therfore, that in concluſion he condiſcended to his graces motion. And farther, forſomuche as the caſe was of ſuche importance as

† *John Longland* made Biſhop of *Lincoln* by Papal Proviſion, *Mar.* 20. 1520.

* When there was founde no other waye he enſpired the Kinge that the Quene was not his wife by the Biſhope of *Lincolne* his confeſſoure, as the ſayenge was.

Tyndal Practice of Prelates.

† Utinam periculoſo negotio ſe nunquam admiſcuiſſet, et cauſam Theologicam ceſſiſſet Theologis. *Eraſmi* Epiſt.

needed great adviſement and conſideracion, he beſought his grace of ſufficient reſpite to conſider of it adviſedlie. Whearwith the Kinge, well contented, ſaid unto him, that † *Tonſtale* and * *Clarke* Byſhops of *Bathe* and *Durrham*, with other learned of his privie counſell, ſhould alſo be dealers thearin. Soe Sir *Tho. Moore* departed & conferred thoſe places of Scripture with the expoſicion of diverſe of the owlde holie Doctors. And at his comminge to the Court in talkinge with his grace of the foreſaid matters, he ſaid, 'To 'be plaine with your Grace, neither my Lord of 'Durham, nor my Lord of *Bathe*, though I 'knowe them bothe to be wiſe, virtuous & learned 'Prelates, nor my ſelfe with the reſt of your 'counſaile, beinge all your Grace's owne ſervants, 'for your manifolde benefitts beinge dailie be-'ſtowed on us ſo much bownden unto you be 'in my minde meete councellers for your Grace 'heerin. But if your grace meane to underſtande 'the truthe, ſuche counſailers may you have de-'viſed, as nether for reſpect of theyr owne world-'lie commoditie, nor for feare of your princelie 'authoritie will be inclined to deceave you.' To whome he named then St. *Jerome*, St. *Auguſtine* and divers other owld holie Doctors bothe Greekes and Latines: and moreover ſhewed him what authorities he had gathered out of either of them. Which although the Kinge (as diſagreeable to his deſier) did not verie well like of, yet weare they by Sir *Tho. Moore* (who in all his communicacion with the Kinge in that matter had alwaies moſt diſcreetlie behaved himſelfe) ſoe wiſelie tempered, that he both preſentlie tooke them in good part, and oftentimes had thearof conference with him againe.

† *Cuthbert Tunſtall* tranſlated to the See of *Durham*, 1530

* *John Clerk* Bp. of *Bath*, 1523.

XI.

XI. After this weare theare certaine queſtions amonge his counſaile proponed, Whether the Kinge needed in this caſe to have anye ſcruple at all? and if he had, What waie weare beſt to be taken to deliver him of it? The moſt part of them weare of the opinion that theare was good cauſe of ſcruple, and that for diſchardge of it, ſuite weare meete to be made to the Sea of *Roome*, wheare the Kinge hoped by liberalitie to obtaine his purpoſe; Whearein, as it after appeered, he was farre deceaved. Then was theare for the examinacion and tryall of this Matrimony procured from *Roome* a Commiſſion in which Cardinall *Campeius*, and Cardinall *Wolſey* weare joyned Commiſſioners, who for the determinacion thearof ſat at the *blacke-Friars* in *London*, wheare a libell was caſt in for the anullinge of the ſaide Matrimony, alleaginge the Marriage betweene the Kinge and Queene to be unlawfull, and for proofe of the marriage to be lawfull was theare brought in a diſpenſacion, in which after divers diſputacions theareuppon holden, theare appeared an imperfeccion which, by an Inſtrument or Brieſe, fownde uppon ſearche in the threaſurie of *Spaine* and ſent to the Commiſſioners in *England*, was ſupplied. And ſoe ſhould judgmente have binne given by the Pope accordinglie, had not the Kinge, upponintelligence thearof, before the ſame judgment, appealed to the next generall Councell; after whoſe appellacion the Cardinalls upon that matter ſat noe longer. Yt fortuned, before the matter of the ſaide Matrimony brought in queſtion, When I in talke with Sir *Tho: Moore* (of a certaine joie) commended unto him the happie eſtate of this Realme, that had ſoe Catholicke a Prince that noe hereticke durſt ſhewe

his face; ſo vertuous & * learned a Clergie, ſoe grave & ſownd a nobilitie, and ſoe lovinge obedient ſubjects all in one faithe agreeinge together. Trothe it is indeed, ſonne *Rooper*, quoth he, and in all degrees & eſtates of the ſame went farre beyond me in commendacion thearof, and yet, ſonne *Rooper*, I praie GOD, ſaied he, that ſome of us as highe as we ſeeme to ſit uppon the mountaines treadinge heretickes under our feet like ants, live not the daie that we would gladlie bee at league and compoſicion with them to let them have their churches quietlie to themſelves, ſoe that they would be contented to let us have ours quietlie to ourſelves. After that I had towld him manye conſideracions why he had noe cauſe to ſaie ſoe; Well, ſaid he, I praie GOD ſonne *Rooper*, ſome of us live not till that daie, ſheweinge me noe reaſon why he ſhould put any doubt thearin. To whome, I ſaied, by my troath, Sir, it is verie deſperatelie ſpoken: that vile tearme, I cry GOD mercie, did I give him. Who, by theſe wordes perceavinge me in a * fume, ſaide merrily unto me, Yt ſhall not be ſoe, Yt ſhall not be ſoe. In whome in 16 yeeres & more, beinge in the houſe converſant with him, I could not perceave as † once in a fume.

* heat or paſſion.

XI.

* The Kynge our ſoveraigne lorde that now is, and long mote be hath in his time as prudently and as vertuouſly provyded for this Realme that it ſhould have ſuche Prelates and Ordinaries as ſhould in learning, wiſedome, juſtice and living bee meet and convenient therfore as any Prince hath, nomber for nomber that hath raigned over this Realme, I dare boldly ſay this hundred yere. *More's* Engliſh Works, p. 890. col. 1.

† Conſimili comitate totam familiam moderatur in qua nulla tragœdia, nulla rixa. *Eraſmi* epiſt.

Some have ſayde that when *Conſtantine* was gotten away I was fallen for anger in a wonderful rage. But ſurelye thoughe I would not have ſuffred him to go if it would have pleated hym to have taryed ſtyl in the ſtockes: yet neither was

I

XI. But now to returne wheare I left: After the ſupplieinge of the imperfeccion of the diſpenſacion, ſent, as is before rehearſed, to the Commiſſioners into *England*, the Kinge, takinge the matter for ended, and then meaninge noe farther to proceede in that matter, appointed the Byſhop of *Durham* and Sir *Tho: Moore* to goe Embaſſadors to *Cambray*, a place neither Emperiall nor Frenche, to treat a peace betweene the Emperour, the Frenche Kinge and him: in the concludinge whearof Sir *Tho. Moore* ſo worthelie handled himſelfe, procuringe in our league farre more benefites unto this realme then, at that time, by the Kinge or his councell was thought poſſible to be compaſſed, that for his good ſervice in that voiage, the Kinge, when he after made him Lord Chauncellor, cauſed the Duke of *Norfolke* openlie to declare to the people, as you ſhall heere heereafter more at large, how muche all *Englande* was bound to him. Now uppon the comminge † home of the byſhop of *Durham* and Sir *Tho: Moore* from *Cambraie*

I than ſo heavy for the loſſe, but that I had youth enough left me to weare it oute, nor ſo angry with any manne of myne that I ſpake them any evyll worde for the matter, more then to my Porter, That he ſhould ſe the Stockes mended and locked faſt, that the Priſoner ſtale not in againe. *Mores* Engliſh Workes, p. 902. col. 1.

† Sir *Thomas More* in the latter end of the harveſt 1528. being returned from *Cambray* in *Flanders* rode immediately to the King to the Court at *Woodſtock*. And while he was there with the King newes was brought to him by his Son in law *Heron* that part of his dwelling houſe at *Cheiſea*, and all his barnes there full of corne ſodenly fell on fire and were burnt, and all the corne therein by the negligence of one of his neighbour's cartes, and by occaſion thereof were divers of his next Neighbours barns burnt alſo. On this he wrote a letter to his Lady, in which after comforting her under the

loſs

braie the Kinge was as * earneſt of perſwadinge of Sir *Thomas Moore* to agree to the matter of his marriage as before, by many and divers waies provokinge him thearunto, for which, as it was thought, he the rather ſoone after made him Lord Chauncellor, and farther declaringe unto him that though at his goinge over ſea to *Cambray* he was in utter deſpaire theareof, yet he had conceived ſince ſome good hope to compaſſe it. For albeit his marriage, being againſt the poſitive lawes of the Church, and againſt the written lawe of GOD was holpen by the diſpenſacion, yet was theare another thinge fownde out of late, he ſaide, whearby his marriage appeered to be ſoe directlie againſt the lawe of natuer as it could in noe wiſe be by the Churche diſpen-
1530. ſable, as Doctor † *Stokſlye*, whome he had then [newlye] preferred to be byſhop of *London* and in that caſe cheiflie credited was able to inſtruct him, with whome he praied him in that point to conferre. But for all his conference with him he ſawe nothinge of ſuch force as could induce him to chaunge his opinion thearin. Which notwithſtandinge, the byſhop ſhewed himſelfe in his report of him to the Kinges Highnes ſoe good and favourable, that he ſaide he fownde him in his grace's caſe very toward, and deſirous to finde ſome good matter whearwith he might truli ſerve his

loſs, and exhorting her to bear it with patience and Submiſſion to the Will of GOD: He prayes her to make ſearche what h's poor neighbours have loſte, and to bid them take no thought therfore, for tho' he ſhould not leave himſelfe a Spoone, there ſhould no poor Neighbour of his bere any loſſe by any chance happened in his houſe. *Mores* Engliſh Works, p. 1419. col. 1.

* See Sir *Thomas*'s Letter to Mr. Secretary *Cromwell* at the end.

† *Johñ Stockeſly* Biſhop of *LONDON* a man of greate witte and learning but of lytle diſcretion and humanity. *Hall* Chro.

his grace to his contentation. This Byſhop *Stokeſley*, beinge by the Cardinall not longe before in the *Starre-chamber* openlie put to rebuke, and awarded to the *Fleet*, not brookinge his contumelious uſage & thinkinge that foraſmuche as the Cardinall, for lacke of ſuche forwardnes in ſettinge forthe the Kinges Divorce as his grace looked for, was out of his Highnes favour, he had now a good occaſion offered him to revenge his quarrell, farther to increaſe the King's diſpleaſure towards him, travailed to invent ſome colourable deviſe for the King's furtherance in that behalfe: Which, as * before is remembred, he to his Grace revealed, hopinge thearby to bringe the Kinge to the better likinge of himſelfe and the more miſlikinge of the Cardinall whome his Highnes therfore ſoone after diſplaced, and to Sir *Tho: Moore*, the rather to † move him to incline to his ſide the ſame in his ſtead committed. Who betweene the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* beinge brought through *Weſtminſter-hall* to his place in the Chauncerie, the duke of *Norfolke*, in audience of all the people theare aſſembled, ſhewed, that he was from the Kinge himſelfe ſtreightlie chardged by ſpeciall commiſſion, theare openlie in preſence of them all to make declaracion how muche all *England* was beholdinge to Sir *Thomas More* for his good ſervice, and how worthie he was to have the higheſt roome in the Realme, and how deerly his grace loved and truſted him, for which, ſaied the Duke, he had great cauſe to rejoice. Whearunto Sir *Tho: More*, amongſt all

* afore

† *Thomas Morus*, doctrina et prohibitate ſpectaibilis Vir, Cancellarius in ejus locum conſtituitur, neutiquam Regis Cauſæ æquior. *Thuani* Hiſtoria Lib. I. p. 23.

1530. 21 *Hen.* VIII. *Thomas More* Miles Cancellarius Angliæ habuit magnum ſigillum ſibi liberatum die Lunæ 25 *Octob.* Chron. Series Cancella, per *Gul. Dugdale*.

other his humble and wiſe ſayeings not now in my memory, aunſweared, that although he had good cauſe to take comfort of his Highnes ſingular favour towards him, that he had, farre above his deſerts, ſoe highlie commended him, to whome therfore he acknowledged himſelfe moſt deerlie bownd: Yet nevertheles he muſt for his owne part needes confeſſe that in all things by his grace alleadged he had donne no more then was his dutie: and farther diſabled himſelfe to be unmeete for that roome, thearin conſideringe how wiſe and honourable a Prelate had latelie before taken ſoe great a fault, he ſaid, he had noe cauſe thearof to rejoyce. And as they had before chardged him, on the King's behalfe, uprightlie to adminiſter indifferent juſtice to the people, without corrupcion or affeccion, ſoe did he likewiſe chardge them againe that if they ſawe him at any time in any thinge to digreſſe from anie part of his dutie in that honourable Office, even as they would diſchardge their owne dutie and fidelitie to GOD and the Kinge, ſoe ſhould they not faile to diſcloſe it to his grace, who otherwiſe might have juſt occaſion to laie his fault wholie to their chardge.

XII. While he was Lord Chauncellor, beinge at leaſure (as ſeldome he was) one of his ſonnes in lawe on a time ſaid merrilie unto him, When Cardinall *Wolſey* was Lord Chauncellor, not onlie they of his privie chamber, but alſo his doore keeper gat greate gaine under him: and ſeeinge he had married one of his daughters, and gave ſtill attendance uppon him he thought he might of reaſon looke for ſome. Wheare he himſelfe, becauſe he was ſoe readie to heere everie man's cauſe, poore and riche, and keepe noe doores ſhut from them, could finde none; which was to him

a great diſcouragement. And whearas ſome for freindſhip, and ſome for kindred, and ſome for profit woulde gladlie have had his furtherance in bringinge them to his preſence, yf he ſhould now take anie thinge of them, he knewe, he ſaide, he ſhould doe them great wronge, for that they might doe as muche for themſelves as he could doe for them. Which condicion, thoughe he thought in Sir *Tho: Moore* verie commendable, yet to him, he ſaide, beinge his ſonne he fownde it nothinge profitable. When he had towlde him this tale, you ſaie well ſonne, quoth he, I do not miſlike that you are of conſcience ſoe ſcrupulous; but many other waies be theare, ſonne, that I maie both doe you good, and pleaſure your freind alſoe. For ſometimes maie I by my worde ſtande your freind in ſteede, and ſometimes maie I by my Letter helpe him; Or if he have a cauſe dependinge before me, at your requeſt I maie heere him before another. Or if his cauſe be not all the beſt, yet maie I move the parties to fall to ſome end or arbitrement. Howbeit this one thinge, ſonne, I aſſure thee on my faithe, that if the parties will at my hands call for Juſtice, then weare it my Father ſtood on one ſide, and the divill on the other, his cauſe beinge good the divill ſhould have right. Soe offer'd he his ſonne as he thought, he ſaid, ſoe much favour as he could with reaſon requier. And that he would in noe reſpect digreſſe from juſtice well appeered by a plaine example of another of his ſonnes in lawe called Mr * *Hearne*. For when he, havinge a matter before him in the Chancerye and preſuminge too muche of his favour, would by him in noe wiſe be

* *Herond*, He married Sir *Thomas's* 2d daughter *Cecilia*. On her picture in the Family Piece is written, *Cecilia Herond Thomæ Mori* filia anno 20.

be perſwaded to agree to any indifferent order then made he in concluſion a flatt decree againſt him.

XIII. This Lord Chauncellor uſed commonlie everie afternoone to ſit in his open Hall to the intent that if any perſon had any ſuit unto him, they might the more boldlie come to his preſence and then open their complaints before him. Whoſe manner was alſoe to reade everie bill himſelfe, and before he would award any *Sub-pœna*, which being matter worthie of *Sub pœna* would ſet his hande to himſelfe, or elſe cancell yt. Whenſoever he paſſed through *Weſtminſter-Hall* to his place in the Chauncery by the Court of the King's bench, yf his Father (beinge one of the Judges therof) had binne ſatt ere he came, he would goe into the ſame Court and theare reverentlie kneelinge downe in the ſight of them all dulie aske his Father's bleſſinge. And if it fortuned that his Father and he at Readings in *Lincolnes Inne* met together, (as they ſometimes did) notwithſtandinge his high Office he would offer in argument the Preeminence to his Father, though he for his office ſake would refuſe to take it. And for better declaracion of his naturall affection towards his Father, he not onelie, while he laye in his deathe bedd, accordinge to his dutie, oftentimes with comfortable wordes moſt kindlie came to viſit him, but alſo at his departure out of this world with teares takeinge him about the necke moſt lovingelie kiſſed & embraced him, commendinge him into the hands of almightie GOD & ſoe departed from him. And as fewe Injunctions as he graunted while he was Lord Chauncellor, yet weare they by ſome of the Judges of the Lawe miſliked; which I underſtandinge declared the ſame unto Sir *Tho: Moore*. Who anſweared mee that they ſhould have little cauſe to find

finde fault with him therfore, and thearuppon cauſed he one Mr *Crooke* cheife of the ſix Clearks to make a * Dockett containinge the whole number and cauſes of all ſuche injunctions as eyther in his time had allreadie paſſed, or at that preſent depended in anie of the King's Courts at *Weſtminſter* before him. Which done he invited all the Judges to dine with him in the Counſaile Chamber at *Weſtminſter*: wheare after dinner when he had broken with them what complaints he had heard of Injunctions, and moreover ſhewed them both the number and cauſes of everie one of them in order ſoe plainlie that uppon full debatinge of theſe matters they weare enforced to conteſſe that they, in like caſe, could have donne noe otherwiſe themſelves, then offred he this unto them, That if the Juſtices of everie court unto whome the reformacion of the rigor of the lawe, by reaſon of their office, moſt eſpecially appertained, would uppon reaſonable conſideracions by their owne diſcretions, as they weare, as he thought, in conſcience bound, mittigate and reforme the rigor of the Lawe themſelves, theare ſhould from henceforthe from him noe more Injunccions be graunted: Whearunto when they refuſed to condiſcende, then ſaid he unto them. Foraſmuch as your ſelfes, my Lords, drive me to that neceſſitie for awardinge out Injunctions to releive the peoples injurie, you cannot heerafter any more juſtlie blame me. After that he ſaid ſecretlie to me: I perceave, ſonne, why they like not ſoe to doe. For they ſee that they maie by the verdict of the Jurie caſt of all quarrells from themſelves on thoſe, which they doe account their cheife defence, and therfore am I com-

* A ſmall piece of paper or parchment containing the effect of a larger writing. *Cowels* Law interpreter.

compelled to abide the adventure of all ſuch reports.

XIV. And, as † little leaſure as he had to be occupied in the ſtudie of the holie Scripture, and controverſies about Religion, and ſuche other virtuous exerciſes, beinge in a manner continuallie † buſied about the affaires of the Kinge and the Realme; Yet ſuch watche and paine in ſetinge forthe of divers profitable workes in the defence of the true Chriſtian Religion againſt Hereſies ſecreatlie ſowen abroad in the Realme aſſuredlie ſuſtained he, that the Byſhops (to whoſe Paſtorall care the reformacion thearof moſt principallie appertained) thinkinge themſelfes by his travaile (whearin by their owne confeſſion they weare not able with him to make compariſon) of their duties in that behalfe diſchardged; and conſideringe that, for all his Princes favour, he was noe riche man, nor in yeerlie revenues advanced as his worthines deſerved: Therfore at a Convocacion amonge themſelves and others of the Clergie they agreed together and concluded uppon a ſomme of 4 or 5 thowſand pounds, at the leaſt, to my remembrance, for his paines to recompence him: To the paiment whearof everie Byſhop, Abbot & the reſt of the Clergie weare after the rate of their abillities liberall contributors, hopinge that this portion ſhould be to his contentation. Whearuppon Doctor *Tonſtale* of *Durham*, *Clarke* byſhop of *Bathe*, and, as farre
* Voyſey as I can call to minde, * *Vaſty* byſhop of *Exceter*, repaired unto him, declaringe how muche thankfull they weare for his travailes to their diſchardge in

† *Thomas Morus* eques auratus, moribus et ingenio candidiſſimus, neque minori præſtans eruditione, tametſi negotijs Regis et Regni graviſſimis occupatiſſimus ſit. *Roſſenſis* dedicatio præfixa libro ad ver. *Oecolampad.*

in GOD's cauſe beſtowed, for which they reckoned themſelves bownden to conſider him. And that albeit they could not to his deſerts ſoe worthelie as they would requite him therfore, but muſt referre that onlie to the goodnes of GOD; yet for a ſmall part of recompence in reſpect of his eſtate, ſo unequall to his worthines, in the name of their Convocation they preſented unto him that ſomme, which they deſired him to take in good part. Who, † forſakinge it, ſaide; that like as it was no ſmall comfort unto him that ſoe wiſe and learned men ſoe well accepted his ſimple dooings, for which he never intended to receive reward but at the hands of GOD onlie to whome was the thanke thearof cheiflie to be aſcribed: ſoe gave he moſt humble thankes unto their Honors all for their ſoe bountifull and freindlie conſideracion. When they, for all their importunate preſſinge uppon him (that fewe would have thought he could have refuſed) could by noe meanes make him him to take it, then beſought they him that he would yet be contented that they might beſtowe it on his wife and children. Not ſoe, my Lords, quothe he, I had rather ſee it caſt in the *Thames* then either I or anie

† I will not ſaye naye but that ſome good and honorable men of theym [the clergy] woulde in rewarde of my goode will and my labouŕe againſt thoſe heretickes, have given me much more than ever I did or could deſerve: But I dare take GOD and theym alſo to recorde that all they could never ſee me with one peny thereof, but, as I plainly told them, *I would rather have caſte theyr money into the* Temys *than take it.* For albeit they were, as indeed there were, both good men and honourable, yet looke I for my thanke of GOD that is theyr better, and for whoſe ſake I take the labour & not for theirs ——— I am both over proude, & over ſlouthful alſo to be hyred for money to take halfe the labour & buſineſs in writing that I have taken in this geare ſince I began. *More's* Engliſh Works, p. 867. col. 1, 2.

anie of mine ſhould have thearof the worthe of a pennie. For altho' your offer, my Lords, be indeede very friendlie and honourable, yet ſet I ſoe little by my profit, and ſoe muche by my pleaſure, that I would not, in goode faithe, have loſt the watching of ſoe manie nights for muche more then your liberall offer. And yet wiſhe would I for all that, upon condicion that all Hereſies weare ſuppreſſed, that all my bookes weare burned, and my labour loſt. Thus departing weare they faine to reſtore to everie man his own againe.

XV. This Lord Chauncellor, albeit he was to GOD and the World well knowne to be a man of noble Virtue, though not ſoe of everie man conſidered, yet, for the avoidinge of ſingularitie, would he appeere like other men in his apparrell and outward behaviour. And albeit he appeered outwardlie honourable like one of his callinge, yet inwardlie he not ſuche vanities eſteemed, [but] ſecreatlie next his bodie ware a † ſhirte of heare. Which my ſiſter * *More*, a younge Gentlewoman, in the ſummer as he ſat at ſupper ſingle in his doublet and hoſe, wearinge thearuppon a plaine ſhirt, without either ruffe or collar, chancinge to eſpie, beganne to laugh at it. My † wife, not ignorant of his manner, perceavinge the ſame, privilie towld him of it, and he beinge ſorrie that ſhe ſawe preſentlie amended it. He alſoe ſometimes uſed to puniſh his bodie with whipps, the cordes knotted, which was knowen onelie to my wife,

* Anna Criſacria Joannis Mori ſponſa anno 15.

† Margareta Ropera Thomæ Mori filia anno. 22.

† She, the Lady *Margaret*, had her ſhertes and gyrdyls of heere, which, when ſhe was in helthe, everi weke ſhe fayled not certayn days to weare, ſometyme the one, ſometyme the other, that full often her skynne, as I heard her ſay, was perced therewith. Bp. *Fiſher*'s Sermon, *&c.* p. 11.

Sic addictus pietati ut ſi in alterutram partem aliquantulum inclinet momentum, ſuperſtitioni quam impietati vicinior eſſe videatur. *Eraſmi* Epiſt.

wife, his eldeſt daughter, whome, for her * ſecrecie, above all other he ſpeciallie truſted, cauſinge her, as neede required, to waſhe the ſame ſhirt of heare.

XVI. Now ſhortlie [after his] entringe into his high Office of Chauncellorſhip the Kinge againe moved him to waie and conſider his great matter. Who fallinge downe on his knees, humblie beſought his Majeſtie to ſtande his gratious ſoveraigne Lord, as ever ſince his entrie into his gratious ſervice he had fownde him, ſaieinge, theare was nothinge in the world had binne ſoe grievous unto his heart, as to remember that he was not able, as he willinglie would with the loſſe of one of his limmes, for that matter anie thinge to finde whearbie he could with his conſcience ſafelie ſerve his great contentation, as he that alwaies bare in minde the moſt godlie wordes that his highnes ſpake unto him at his firſt entrie into his noble ſervice, the moſt virtuous leſſon that ever prince taught his ſervant: Willinge him firſt to looke unto God, and after God unto Him: as in good faithe, he ſaid, he did, or els might his grace well account him for his moſt unworthie ſervant. To this the Kinge aunſweared, that if he could not with his conſcience thearin ſerve him, he was content to accept his ſervice otherwiſe, and uſe the adviſe of other of his learned counſaile whoſe conſcience would well enough agree therwith: would nevertheles continue his gratious favour towards him, and never with that matter moleſt his conſcience afterward. But Sir *Thomas Moore* in proceſſe of time ſeeinge the Kinge fullie determined to proceede forthe in the marriage of Queen *Anne*; and when he with the by-

See Sir *Thomas's* Letter to Mr. ſecretary *Cromwel*, at the end.

ſhops

* *Margareta Ropera* Britanniæ tuæ decus. *Eraſmi* epiſt.

ſhops and nobles of the higher houſe of parliament weare, for the furtherance of that marriage, commaunded by the Kinge to go downe unto the common Houſe to ſhewe unto them bothe what the Univerſities, as well of other parts beyond the ſeas as of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, had donne in that behalfe, and their ſeales alſo teſtifieing the ſame, all which matters, at the King's requeſt, not ſhewinge of what minde himſelfe was thearin, he opened to the lower houſe of the parliament. Nevertheles, doubtinge leaſte further attempts after ſhould followe, which contrarie to his conſcience, by reaſon of his Office, he was likelie to be put unto, he made ſuite unto the Duke of *Norfolke*, his ſingular good friend, to be a meane to the Kinge that he might, with his Grace's favour, be diſchardged of that chardgeable roome of the Chauncellorſhip, whearin, for certain † infirmities of his bodie, he pretended himſelfe unable anie longer to ſerve.

XVII. This Duke, comminge on a time to *Chelſey* to dine with him, fortuned to finde him in the Churche, in the Quier, with a ſurplis on his backe, ſinginge. To whome, after ſervice, as they went home-ward arme in arme, the Duke ſaide, God's bodie, God's bodie, my Lord Chauncellor, what a pariſhe Clearke, a pariſhe Clearke! You diſhonour the Kinge, and his Office. Naie, quoth

† —— this diſeaſe of mine, whereof the chief occaſion is grown, as it is thought, by the ſtooping and leaning on my breaſt that I have uſed in writing. Letter to *Cromwel*.

Pectus mihi occupavit neſcio quid morli cujus non tam ſenſu et dolore crucior, quam eventus metu ac timore ſolicitor —— Quamobrem, ut et publicis rebus pariter et meæ ſaluti conſulerem, a clariſſimi principis et Optimi benignitate ſupplex impetravi at magiſtratu iſto —— dignaretur ejus pietas exonerare. *Mori* Epiſto: *Eraſmo*.

quoth Sir *Thomas Moore*, ſmilinge on the Duke, Your grace maie not thinke that the Kinge, your Maſter and mine, will with me for ſervinge GOD his Maſter be offended, or thearbie account his Office diſhonoured.

XVIII. When the Duke, beinge thearunto often ſollicited, by importunate ſuite had at length of the Kinge obteined for Sir *Tho. Moore* a cleere diſchardge of his Office, then, at a time conveneint by his Highnes appointment, repaired he to his grace to yeeld up to him the greate ſeale. Which, as his grace with thankes and praiſe for his worthie ſervice in that Office, at his handes courteouſlie receaved, ſoe it pleaſed his Highnes farther to ſaie unto him, that for the ſervice which he before had donne him, in any ſuite which he ſhould after have unto him, that ſhould either concerne his honour (for that worde it pleaſed his Highnes to uſe unto him) or that ſhould appertaine unto his profit, he ſhould finde his Highnes [a] good and gracious Lord unto him. * After he had thus given over the Chauncellorſhip, and placed all his gentlemen and yeomen with Noblemen and Byſhops, and his 8 Watermen with the Lord *Audley* that in the ſame Office ſucceeded him, to whome alſoe he gave his great bardge; † then callinge us all that weare his chil-

See Sir *Thomas's* Letter to Mr ſecretary *Cromwell* at the end.

*———Supra quam meus pudor pati poteſt ut recenſeam, per os ducis illuſtriſſimi, ducis, inquam, *Nolfolchiæ* magni Theſaurarij *Angliæ*, quum ſucceſſor meus, homo imprimis egregius, collocaretur in loco, honorifice juſit, Rex, de me teſtatum reddere quod *ægre ad preces meas me dimiſerit*.

Mori epiſt. *Eraſmo.*

† His Foole he beſtowed him on the Lord Mayor during his Office, and afterwards on his Succeſſors in that charge.

Lord *Herbert's* Life of *Hen.* VIII.

Henry Patinſon.

children to him, and askinge our adviſe how we might now in this decay of his abilitie, by the ſurrender of his Office ſoe impaired that he could not, as he was wont and gladlie would, beare out the whole chardges of them all himſelfe, thenceforthe be able to live and continew together, as he wiſhed we ſhould; When he ſawe us ſilent, and in that caſe not readie to ſhewe our opinions unto him, then will I, ſaide he, ſhewe my poore minde to you. I have binne brought up, quoth he, at *Oxford*, at an * Inne of the Chauncery, at *Lincolne*'s Inne, and alſoe in the King's Court, and ſo from the leaſt degree to the higheſt, and yet have I in yeerlie revennues at this preſent leaſt me a little above a hundred powndes by the yeere. Soe that now muſt we heerafter, if we like to live together, be contented to become contributors together. But by my counſaile it ſhall not be beſt for us to fall to the loweſt ſare firſt; We will not therfore deſcend to *Oxford*-fare, nor to the fare of *New-Inne*; but wee will beginne with *Lincolne's*-Inn diet, wheare manie Right Worſhipfulls and of good yeeres doe live full well together. Which, if we finde not our ſelves able to maintaine the firſt yeere, then will we the next yeere goe one ſtep downe to *New-Inne* fare, whearwith many an honeſt man is well contented. If that exceed our abilitie too then we will the next yeare after deſcend to *Oxford*-fare, wheare many grave, learned and auntient fathers be continuallie converſant. Which if our power ſtretche not to mainteine neither, then maie wee yet with baggs and wallets goe a begginge together, and, hopinge that for pittie ſome good folkes will give us their charitie, at everie man's dore to ſinge

* New-Inne.

* *Salve*

* *Salve Regina*, and ſoe ſtill keepe companie and be merrie together. † And whearas you have heard before he was by the Kinge from a verie worſhipfull livinge taken into his ſervice, with whome in all the great and weightie cauſes that concearned his highnes or the Realme he conſumed and ſpent with painful cares, travailes and troubles, as well beyond the Seas as within the Realme, in effect, the whole ſubſtance of his Life, yet with all the gaine he got thearby, beinge never waſtfull ſpender thearof, he was not able, after the reſignacion of his office of the Lord Chauncellour, for the maintenance of himſelfe and ſuche as neceſſarilie belonged unto him, ſufficientlie to finde meat, drinke, iewell and apparrell and ſuch other neceſſarie chardges. ** All

* *Tyndall* forbiddeth folk to pray to the Virgin *Mary* and ſpecially miſliketh her devout Anthem *Salve Regina*.

More Engliſh Works, p. 488. col. 2.

† Theſe Jeſts were thought to have in them more levity than to be taken every where for current. He might have quitte his Dignity without uſing ſuch Sarcaſms, and betaken himſelf to a more retired and quiet life without making them, [his familie] or himſelf contemptible. And certainly, whatſoever he intended hereby, his Family ſo little underſtood his meaning that they needed ſome more ſerious inſtructions. So that I cannot perſwade myſelf, for all this talke, that ſo excellent a perſon would omit, at fit times, to give his Family that ſober account of his relinguiſhing this place which, I find, he did to the Archbp. *Warham*, *Eraſmus*, and others.

Lord *Herbert*'s Life of *Hen.* VIII. p. 344.

** As for al the landes and fees that I have in *England*, beſyde ſuch lands and fees as I have of the gyfte of the Kinge's moſt noble Grace, is not at this day, nor ſhal be whyle my Mother in lawe liveth (whoſe life and health I pray GOD long keepe & continue) worth yeerlie to my livinge the ſumme of ful *fiftie* pounde. *More*'s Engliſh Works, p 866. col. 2.

Animus eſt a ſordido lucro alieniſſimus. —— cum advocationibus adhuc aleretur nulli non dedit amicum verumque conſilium, magis illorum commodis proſpiciens quam ſuis.

Eraſmi Epiſt

the land that ever he purchaſed (which alſo he purchaſed before he was Lord Chauncellor) was not, I am well aſſured, above the valewe of 20 Markes by the Yeere: and, after his debts paied, he had not, I knowe, (his chaine excepted) in gould and ſilver leaft him the worthe of one hundred pownds. And whearas uppon the holie daies, duringe his high Chauncellorſhip, one of his gentlemen, when ſervice at the Churche was donne, ordinarilie uſed to come to my Ladie his wives pue dore, and ſaie unto her, Madam, My Lord is gone; the next holidaie after the ſurrender of his Office and departuer of his gentlemen from him, he came unto my Ladie his wife's pewe himſelfe, and makinge a lowe courteſie, ſaid unto her, Madam, My Lord is gone. [But ſhe, thinking this at firſt to be but one of his Jeſts, was little moved, till he told he † ſadly he had given up the Great Seale. Whearuppon * ſhe ſpeaking ſome paſſionate words, he called his daughters then preſent to ſee if they could not ſpy ſome fault about their Mother's dreſſing; but they, after ſearch, ſaying they could find none: hee replied, doe you not perceive that your mother's noſe ſtandeth ſomewhat awry? Of which jeere the provoked Lady was ſo ſenſible that ſhe went from him in a rage.]

Lord *Herbert* Life of King *Hen.* VIII

†ſeriouſly, gravely.

XIX. In the time ſomewhat before his trouble he would talke unto his wife and children of the joies of heaven and paines of hell, of the lives of holie martirs, of their greivous martirdomes, of their marveilous patience, and of their paſſions and deathes that they ſuffred rather then they

* Viduam duxit —— nec bellam admodum nec puellam, ſed acrem ac vigilantem matrem familias animi minime mollis, noſtremo ad rem attentiſſima. *Eraſmi* Epiſt.

they would offend GOD, and what a happie and bleſſed thinge it was for the love of GOD to ſuffer the loſſe of goods, impriſonment, loſſe of lands, and life alſo. He would farther ſaie unto them, that uppon his faithe, if he might perceave his wife and children would incourage him to die in a good cauſe yt ſhould ſoe comforte him that for * everie joye thearof it would make him merrilie runne to deathe. He ſhewed to them before what trouble might after fall unto him; whearwith and the like virtuous talke he had ſoe longe before his trouble incouraged them, that when he after fell into trouble indeed, his trouble was to them a greate deale the leſſe. *Quia ſpicula prævisa minus lædunt*

* verie.

XX. Now uppon this reſignement of his Office, came Mr. *Thomas Cromwell*, then in the King's favour, to *Chelſey* to him with a meſſage from the Kinge. Whearin when they had throughlie commoned together, Mr. *Cromwell*, quoth he, you are now entred into the ſervice of a moſt noble, wiſe, and liberal Prince; if you will followe my poore adviſe, you ſhall, in your counſaile givinge to his grace, ever tell him what he ought to doe, but never what he is able to doe. Soe ſhall you ſhewe youre ſelfe a true faithfull ſervant, and a right worthie councellor. For if a Lion knewe his owne ſtrength, hard weare it for any man to rule him.

XXI. Shortly thearuppon was theare a Commiſſion directed to *Cranmer*, then Archbyſhop of *Canterbury* to determine the matter of the Matrimony betweene the Kinge and Queen *Katharine* at St. *Albane's*, wheare accordinge to the King's minde it was throughlie determined. Who, pretendinge, becauſe he could get noe juſtice at the

Pope's hand, from thenceforth would ſequeſter himſelfe from the Sea of *Roome*, and ſoe * married the Lady *Anne Bullen*. Which Sir *Tho: Moore* underſtandinge ſaide unto me, GOD give grace, ſonne, that theſe matters within a while be not confirmed with Oathes. I, at that time, ſeeinge noe likelihood thearof, yet fearinge leaſt for his foore ſpeakinge yt would the ſooner come to paſſe, waxed therfore for his ſoe ſayinge muche offended with him.

* On St. *Erkenwalde's* day or *April* 30 1533 *Hall* St. *Paul's* or *Jan.* 25. *G. Wyat*, Eſq;

XXII. Yt fortuned not longe before the † comminge of Queen *Anne* through the ſtreetes of *London* from the Tower to *Weſtminſter* to her coronacion, that he receaved a letter from the Byſhops of *Durrham*, *Bathe*, and *Wincheſter*, requeſtinge him bothe to keepe them companie from the Tower to the Coronacion, and alſoe to take twentie pownds that by the bearer thearof they had ſent him to buie him a gowne withall: which he thankfullie receavinge, at home ſtill tarryeinge, and at their next meetinge ſaid merrilie unto them; My Lords, in the letters which you latelie ſent me you required two thinges of me: the one ſithe I was ſoe well content to graunt you, the other thearof I thought I might be the bolder to deny you. And like as the one, becauſe I tooke you for noe beggers, & my ſelfe I knowe to be noe riche man, I thought I might the rather fullfill, ſoe the other did put me in remembrance of an Emperor who ordained a lawe that whoſoever had committed a certaine heinous offence, which I now remember not, except it weare a Virgin, ſhould ſuffer the paines of deathe (ſuche a reverence had he to Virginitie.) Nowe after it happened that the firſt committer of that offence was indeed a Virgin, whearof the Emperor heeringe was in noe ſmall perplexitie

† *May* 31. 1533.

itie, as he that by ſome example would faine have had that lawe put in execution. Whearuppon when his Councell had ſit longe, ſolemnlie debatinge this cauſe, ſuddenlie roſe thea e up one of his counſaile, a goode plaine man amongſt them, and ſaide, Why make you ſo muche adoe, my Lords, about ſoe ſmall a matter? let her be firſt deflowred, and thearafter may ſhe be devoured. And ſoe though your Lordſhips have in the matter of the matrimonie, hitherto kept your ſelves pure virgins, yet take good heede, my Lords, that you keepe your virginitie ſtill. For ſome theare be that by procuringe your Lordſhips firſt at the Coronacion to be preſent, and nexte to preache for the ſettinge forth of it, and finallie to write bookes to all the world in defence thearof are deſirous to deflowre you, and when they have deflowred you, then will they not faile ſoone after to devowre you. Now, my Lords, quoth he, it lyethe not in my power but that they may devowre me, but GOD beinge my good Lorde I will ſoe provide that they ſhall never deflowre me.

XXIII. In continuance, when the Kinge ſawe that he could by noe meanes winne him to his ſide by any benefitt whatſoever, then lo went he about by terror and threats to drive him thearunto. The beginninge of which trouble grewe by occaſion of a certaine Nonne dwellinge in **Canterburie* for her † virtue and holines of life

* in the Nunnery of St *Sepulchres* a little to the Southward of St. *Auſtins* Abby.

†——— of a truth I had a great good opinion of her, & had her in great eſtimation as you ſhall perceive by the Letter I wrote unto her. ——— in ſearching to find out the truth, as your ſelf hath done, very prudently in this Matter you have done, in my mind, to your great laud and praiſe a very meritorious

amonge the people not a little eſteemed: unto whome, for that cauſe, many religious perſons, Doctors of Divinitie, and divers others of good worſhipp of the layetie uſed to reſort. Who affirminge that ſhe had revelations from GOD, to give the Kinge warninge of his wicked life, and of the abuſe of the ſword and authoritie committed to him by GOD, and underſtandynge my Lord of *Rocheſter*, Byſhop *Fiſher*, to be a man of notable virtuous livinge and learninge, repaired to *Rocheſter* and theare declared unto him all her revelations deſiringe his councell thearin. Whiche the Byſhop perceavinge might well ſtande with the lawes of GOD and his holie Churche adviſed her (as ſhe had before warninge and intended) to goe to the Kinge herſelfe, and to let him knowe and underſtande the whole circumſtance thearof. Whearuppon ſhe went to the Kinge and towld him all her revelations, and ſoe returned home againe. And in ſhort ſpace after ſhe makinge a journey to the Monks of *Sion*, by meanes of Mr. *Raynolds* Father of the ſame houſe, theare fortuned, concearninge ſuche ſecrets as had binne revealed unto her, (ſome part whearof ſeemed to touche the matter of the King's Supremacie and marriage which ſhortlie thearuppon followed) to enter into talke with Sir *Tho: Moore*. Who, notwithſtandinge he might well at that time without daunger of any lawe (though after, as himſelfe had prognoſticated before, thoſe matters weare eſtabliſhed by ſtatutes and confirmed by oathe) freelie and fullie have talked with her thearin, nevertheles in all the communication between

meritorious deed in bringing forth to light ſuch deteſtable Hypocriſy, whereby every other Wretch may take warning and be feared to ſet forth their own deviliſh diſſembled falſhood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful Work of GOD. Sir *Thomas More's* Letter to Mr. Secretary *Cromwell*.

between them (as in proces it appeered) had alwaies ſoe diſcreetlie demeaned himſelfe, that he deſerved not to be blamed, but contrariwiſe to be commended and praiſed. And had he not binne one that in all his great Offices for the Kinge & the Realme ſoe manye yeeres together had from all † corruption or bribes takinge kept himſelfe ſoe cleere that noe man was able thearwith once to blame or blemiſhe him, or make any juſt quarrell againſt him, it would without doubt in this troblous time of the Kinge's indignacion towards him have binne deeplie laide to his chardge, & of the King's highnes moſt favourablie accepted.

XXIV. As in the caſe of one *Parnell* it moſt manifeſtlie appeered (againſt whome Sir *Tho: Moore* while he was Lord Chauncellor, at the ſuite of one *Vaughan* his adverſarie, had made a decree) who accuſed him that he had of the ſame *Vaughan*, unable to travaile abroad himſelfe for the gowte, by the hands of his wife takin a faire great guilded cupp for a bribe. Who thearuppon, by the Kinge's appointment, being called before the whole counſaile, Wheare the matter was hainouſlie laide to his chardge, foorthwith confeſſed that forſomuche as that cuppe was, longe after the foreſaide decree, brought him for a New Yeeres guift, he, uppon the importune preſſinge uppon him thearof, of courteſie refuſed not to take it. Then the * Lord of *Wiltſhire*, for hatred of his religion preferrer of this ſuite, with muche rejoycinge ſaid unto the Lordes; Loe, did I not tell you, my Lords! that you ſhould finde this matter true? Whearuppon Sir *Tho: Moore* deſired their Lordſhipps

* Qeen *Anne's* Father.

† ——— expectavi jam ſyndici tempus a geſto ac depoſito Magiſtratu; nec adhuc quiſquam prodiit qui de mea integritate quereretur. *Mori* epiſt. *Eraſmo.*

ſhipps that as they had heard him courteouſlie tell the one part of his tale, ſoe that they would vouchſafe of their honors indifferently to heere the other. Aſter which obtained, he farther declared unto them, that albeit he had indeed with muche worke received that cupp, yet immediatelie theruppon cauſed [he] his butler to fill it with wine, and of that cup drank to her; and that when he had ſoe donne and ſhe pledged, then as freelie gave he the ſame againe to her to give unto her husband for his new yeares gift: which, at his inſtant requeſt, though muche againſt her well, at lengthe yet ſhe was faine to receive, as her ſelfe and certaine other theare preſent before them depoſed. Thus was the great mountaine turned ſcarſe to a little mole-hill.

XXV. Soe I remember that at another time uppon a New years daye theare came unto him one Miſtriſs *Croker* a widdowe, for whome with noe ſmall paine hee had made a decree in the Chancerie againſt the Lord of *Arundell*, to preſent him with a paire of gloves and 40 Poundes in angells in them for a New yeers guift. Of whome he thankfullie receaved the gloves; but refuſinge the mony ſaide unto her, Miſtreſs, ſince it weare againſt good manners to forſake a gentlewoman's Newe yeere's guift, I am content to take your gloves, but as for your monie I utterlie refuſe. Soe, muche againſt her minde, enforced he her to take her gold againe. And one Mr. *Greſham* likewiſe at the ſame time, havinge a cauſe dependinge in the Chauncery before him, ſent him for a Newe yeere's guift a faire guilded Cuppe, the faſhion whearof he very well likinge cauſed one of his owne, though not in his fancie of ſoe good a faſhion yet better in valewe, to be brought him out of his chamber, which he willed

willed the meſſenger, in recompence, to deliver unto his Maſter, and under other condicion would he in noe wiſe receive yt. Many thinges moe of like effect for declaracion of his innocencye and cleernes from all corruption or evill affection could I heere reherſe beſides, which for tediouſnes omittinge I referre to the readers by theſe fewe fore-remembred examples with their owne judgmentes wiſelie to conſider the ſame.

XXV. At the Parliament followinge was theare put into the Lords houſe a bill to attaint the the Nonn, and divers other religious perſons of highe treaſon, and the Byſhop of *Rocheſter* and Sir *Thomas Moore* and certaine others of miſpriſion of treaſon: the Kinge preſuppoſing of likelihood that this bill would be to Sir *Thomas Moore* ſoe troublous that it would force him to relent and condiſcend to his requeſt: whearin his grace was muche deceived. To which bill Sir *Tho: Moore* was a ſuter perſonallie to be receaved in his owne defenſe to make anſwear. But the Kinge not likinge that aſſigned the Byſhop of *Canterburie*, the Lord Chauncellor, the Duke of *Northfolke* and Mr. *Cromwell* to a daie and place appointed to call Sir *Thomas Moore* before them. At which time I, thinkinge that I had a good and fit opportunitie, earneſtlie adviſed him to labour to thoſe Lords for the helpe of his diſchardge out of the Parliament bill. Who anſweared me he would. And at his comminge before them, accordinge to their appointment, they entertained him verie friendlie, willinge him to ſet downe with them, which in noe wiſe he would. Then began the Lord Chauncellor to declare unto him how manie waies the Kinge had ſhewed his love and favour towards him; how faine he would have had him to continew in his Office;

Office; how glad he would have binne to have heaped more benefits uppon him; and finallie how he could aske noe worldlie honour nor profite at his Highnes handes that weare likelie to bee denyed him; hopinge by declaracion of the King's kindnes and affection towards him to provoke him to recompence his grace with the like againe, and unto thoſe thinges which the Parliament, the Byſhops, and the Univerſities had alreadie paſſed to ad his conſent. To this Sir *Thomas Moore* mildlie made anſwear ſaieinge;

'Noe man livinge is theare, My Lords, that 'would with better will do the thinge that ſhould 'be acceptable to the King's Highnes then I 'which muſt needes confeſſe his manifold good-'nes, and bountifull benefites moſt liberallie be-'ſtowed on me. Howbeit, I verilie hoped I 'ſhould never have heard of this matter more, 'conſideringe that I have from time to time al-'waie from the beginninge ſoe plainlie and trulie 'declared my minde unto his grace, which his 'highnes ever ſeemed to me, like a moſt gracious 'Prince, verie well to accept, never mindinge, as 'he ſaide, to moleſt me more thearwith Since 'which time anie further thinge that was able 'to move me to anie chaunge could I never finde: 'And if I could theare is none in all the worlde 'that would have binne gladder of it then I.'

Manie thinges more weare theare of like ſort uttered on bothe ſides. But in the end when they ſawe they could by no manner of perſwaſions remove him from his former determination, then began they more terribly to touch him, tellinge him that the King's Highnes had given in commandement yf they could by no gentlenes winne him, in his name with his great ingratitude to chardge him: that never was theare ſervant to his Soveraigne ſoe villainous, nor ſubject to his

Prince

Prince ſoe traiterous as he. For he by ſubtle ſiniſter ſlightes moſt unnaturally procuringe and provoakinge him to ſett forthe a booke of the * aſſertion of the ſeaven Sacraments and maintenance of the Pope's authority, had cauſed him, to his diſhonor throughout all Chriſtendome, to put a ſworde in the Pope's hand to fight againſt himſelf. When they had thus laied foorthe all the terrors they could imagine againſt him. 'My Lords, quoth he, theſe terrors be arguments for 'children & not for me. But to anſweare to 'that whearwith you doe cheeflie burden me; 'I beleive the King's Highnes of his honour 'will never lay that to my chardge, for none is 'theare that can in that point ſaie in my excuſe 'more then his Highnes himſelfe: Who right 'well knoweth that I was never procurer nor 'counſailer of his Majeſtie thearunto, but after 'it was finiſhed, by his Graces appointment and 'conſent of the * makers of the ſame, I was on-'lie a ſorter out and placer of the principall 'matters thearin contained. Whearin when I 'fownde the Pope's authoritie highlie advanced, 'and with ſtrong arguments mightily defended, 'I ſaid unto his grace; I muſt put your highnes 'in remembrance of one thinge, and that is this. 'The Pope, as your grace knoweth, is a Prince 'as you are, and in league with all other Chri-'ſtian Princes: Yt maie ſoe heerafter fall out 'that your grace and he maie vary uppon ſome 'points of leagues, whearuppon maie growe 'breach of amitie and warre betweene you bothe: 'I thinke it beſt therfore that that place be a-'mended, and his authoritie more ſlenderlie 'touched. 'Nay, quothe his grace, that ſhall it 'not;'

* *Fiſher* Bp. of *Rochester* & *Lee* after A. Bp. of *York*, as the report was. See Sir *Thomas*'s Letter at the end

* Aſſertio vii Sacramentorum adverſus *Martinum Lutherum*, edita ab invictiſſimo *Angliæ* & *Franciæ* Rege, et Domino *Hyberniæ Henrico* ejus nominis octavo in ædibus *Pynſonianis* apud inclytam urbem *Londinum*, 1521.

'not;' We are ſoe muche bownden to the Sea
'of *Roome* that we cannot doe too muche honour
'to it.' Then did I farther put him in remem-
'brance of the Statute of *Premunire*, whearby a
'good part of the Pope's paſtorall cure heere was
'pared awaie. To that aunſweared his highnes,
'whatſoever impediment be to the contrarie, we
'will ſet forthe that authoritie to the uttermoſt,
'for we receave from that Sea our crowne Im-
'periall;' which I never heard of before till his
'grace towld it me with his owne mouthe. Soe
'that I truſt when his grace ſhall be once trulie
'informed of this, and call to his gratious re-
'membrance my dooings in that behalfe, his
'highnes will never ſpeake of it more, but cleere
'me thearin throughlie himſelfe.' And thus diſ-
pleaſantlie departed they. Then tooke Sir *Tho: Moore* his boate towards his houſe at *Chelſea*, whearin by the waie he was verie merrie, and for that I was nothinge ſorry, hoping that he had gotten himſelfe diſchardged out of the Parliament bill. When he was landed and come home, then walked we twaine alone in his garden together: wheare I deſirous to knowe how he had ſped, ſaide, I truſte, Sir, that all is well becauſe that you be ſoe merry. Yt is ſoe indeed, ſonne *Rooper*, I thanke GOD, quoth he. Are you then put out of the Parliament bill quoth I? By my trothe, ſonne *Rooper*, quoth he, I never remembred it. Never remembred it! ſaide I, a cauſe that touch-ethe your ſelfe ſoo neare, and us all for your ſake, I am ſorry to heere it; For I verilie truſted, when I ſawe you ſoe merrie, that all had binne well. Then ſaide he, wilt thou knowe, ſonne *Rooper*, why I was ſoe merry? That would I gladlie, Sir, ſaide I. In good faithe I rejoyced, ſonne, ſaide hee, that I had given the Divell a fowle fall, and that with thoſe Lords I had gone ſoe farre as without greate

greate ſhame I could never goe backe againe. At which wordes waxed I very ſad; for though himſelfe liked it well, yet liked it me but a little.

XXVI. Now uppon the report made by the Lord Chauncellor and the other Lordes to the Kinge of all their whole diſcourſe had with Sir *Tho: Moore*, the King was ſoe highlie offended with him, that he plainlie towld them he was fullie determined that the foreſaid Parliament bill ſhould undoubtedlie proceed againſte him. To whome the Lord Chauncellor and the reſt of the Lordes ſaide, that they perceaved the Lords of the upper houſe ſoe preciſelie bent to heere him, in his owne defence, make anſweare himſelfe; that if he weare not put out of the bill, it would, without faile, be utterlie an overthrowe of all. But for all this, needes would the Kinge have his owne will thearin, or elſe, he ſaid, that at the paſſinge therof he would be perſonallie preſent himſelfe. Then the Lord *Audley* and the reſt ſeeinge him ſoe vehementlie ſet theareuppon, on their knees, they moſt humblie beſought his grace to forbeare the ſame, conſideringe that if he ſhould in his owne preſence receave an overthrowe, it would not onlie encourage his ſubjects ever after to contemne him, but alſoe through all Chriſtendome redounde to his diſhonour for ever: Addinge thearunto that they miſtruſted not in time againſt him to finde ſome meet matter to ſerve his turne better; for in this cauſe of the Nonne he was accounted, (they ſaid) ſoe innocent and cleere, that for his dealinge thearin, men reckoned him farre worthier of praiſe then of reproofe. Whearuppon, at length, through their earneſt perſwaſion, he was content to condeſcend to their peticion; and on the morrow after Mr. *Cromwell* meetinge me in the Parliament houſe willed

See Sir *Thomas's* Letter to *Cromwel* at the end.

willed me to tell my Father that he was put out of the Parliament bill. But becauſe I had appointed to dine that daie in *London*, I ſent the meſſage by my ſervant to my wife to *Chelſey*. Wherof when ſhe informed her father, In faithe, *Megg*, quoth he, *Quod differtur non aufertur*.

XXVII. After this, as the Duke of *Norfolke*, and Sir *Tho: Moore* chanced to fall in familiar talke together, the Duke ſaide unto him, by the Maſſe, Mr. *Moore*, it is perilous ſtrivinge with Princes, therfore I would wiſhe you ſomewhat to encline to the King's pleaſure. For by GOD's bodie, Mr. *Moore*, *Indignatio Principis Mors eſt*. Is that all my Lord, quoth he? then in good faith the difference betweene your grace and me is but this, That *I ſhall die to daie and you to morrow*.

XXVIII. Soe fell it out, within a monethe, or thereabout, after the makinge of the Statute for the Oath of the Supremacie and Matrimony, that all the Prieſts of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and noe temporall men but he, weare ſent for to appeere at *Lambeth* before the Byſhop of *Canterburie*, the Lord Chauncellor and Secretary *Cromwell*, Commiſſioners appointed theare to tender the * Oath unto them. Then Sir *Tho: Moore*, as his

* This Oath for maintaining the Succeſſion was, it ſeems, required to be taken by all men and women thro'-out the Realme. Mr Juſtice *Raſtell* obſerves that Mrs. *Margaret Rooper* took it with this exception, as farre as woulde ſtande with the Lawe of GOD. And its ſaid of *Harry Patenſon* Sir *Thomas*'s quondam Fool, that meeting one day one of Mr. *Roopers* ſervants he asked where Sir *Thomas* was, and being told he was ſtill in the Towre he grewe very angry & ſaid, Why what eyleth him that he will not ſweare? Wherefore ſhould he ſticke to ſwere? I have ſworne the Oathe my ſelf.

More's Engliſh Works.

accuſtomed manner alwaies was ere he entred into any matter of importance, (as when he was firſt choſen of the privie Councell, when he was ſent Embaſſador, appointed Speaker of the Parliament howſe, made Lord Chancellor, or when he took any other like weightie matter upon him) to goe to Churche to be confeſſed, to heere Maſſe, and be houſeled, ſoe did he likewiſe in the morninge earlie the ſelfe ſame daie that he was ſummoned to appeere before the Lords at *Lambethe*. And whearas he evermore uſed before, at his departure from his wife and children; whom he tenderlie loved, to have them bringe him to his boate, and theare to kiſſe them, and bid them all farewell, then would he ſuffer none of them forth the gate to followe him, but pulled the Wickett after him, and ſhutt them all from him: and with a heavie heart, as by his countenance it appeered, with me and our fowre ſervants theare tooke boate towards *Lambethe*. Whearin ſittinge ſtill ſadlie a while, at the laſt he ſuddenlie rownded me in the eare and ſaide; ſonne *Roper*, I thanke our Lord the feild is wonne. What he ment thearbie I then wiſt not, yet loathe to ſeeme ignorant I anſweared; Sir I am therfore verye glad. But, as I conjectured afterward, it was for that the love hee had to GOD wrought in him ſoe effectuallie that he conquered all his carnall affeccion utterlie. Now at his comminge to *Lambethe*, *April* 13, 1534. how wiſelie he behaved himſelfe before the Commiſſioners at the miniſtracion of the othe unto him, maie be fownde in certaine Letters of his ſent to my wife remaininge in a * great booke *See at the end* N°. IX.

* The Workes of Sir *Thomas More* Knight ſometime Lord Chancellor of *England*, wrytten by him in the Engliſh tongue. Printed at *London* at the coſts and charges of *John Cawood*, *John Waly* & *Richard Tottell* Fynyſhed in *Apryll* the yere of our Lorde God 1557. *Tottle.*

of his Workes. Wheare by the ſpaee of 4 daies he was betaken to the cuſtodie of the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, duringe which time the Kinge conſulted with his counſaile what order weare meet to be taken with him. And albeit in the beginninge they weare reſolved that with an Oathe, not to be acknowne, whither he had to the ſupremacie binne ſworne, Or what he thought thearof he ſhould be diſchardged: Yet did Queen *Anne* by her importunate clamour ſoe ſore exaſperated the Kinge, againſt him, that, contrarie to his former reſolucion, He cauſed the ſaide Oathe of the * Supremacie to beminiſtred unto him. Who albeit he made a diſcreet quallified anſweare, nevertheles was forthwith committed to the Tower.

* Succeſſion.

XXIX. Whome as he was goinge thitherward wearinge, as he commonlie did, a † chaine of gold about his necke, Sir *Richard Cromwell*, that had the chardge of his conveighance thither, adviſed him to ſende home his chaine to his wife or to ſome of his children. 'Naie, Sir, quoth 'he, that I will not: for if I weare taken in the 'feild by my ennimies I would they ſhould ſome-'what fare the better for me.' At whoſe landinge Mr. Lieutenant was readie at the Tower gate to receive him, wheare the Porter demanded of him his upper garment. Mr. Porter, quoth he, heere it is, and tooke of his capp and delivered to him, ſaieinge, I am very ſorry it is noe better for thee. Noe, Sir, quoth the Porter, I muſt have your gowne. And ſoe was he by Mr. Lieutenant conveyed to his lodginge, wheare he called unto him *John* a *Wood* his owne ſervant theare appointed

† Cultu ſimplici delectatus, nec ſericis, purpurave aut catenis aureis utitur, niſi cum inegrium non eſt ponere. *Eraſmi* epiſt

pointed to attend him, who could neither write nor reade, and ſware him before the Lieutenant, that if he ſhould heere or ſee him at anye time ſpeake or write any matter againſt the Kinge, Counſaile or the State of the Realme, he ſhould open it to the Lieutenant, that the Lieutenant might incontinent reveale it to the Councell.

XXX. Now when he had remained in the Tower little more then a Moneth, my wife, longinge to ſee her father, by her earneſt ſuite at lengthe got leave to goe unto him. At whoſe comminge after the 7 Pſalms and lettany ſaide, (which whenſoever ſhe came unto him, ere he fell in talke of anie worldlie matter, he uſed accuſtomably to ſay with her) amonge other communicacion he ſaid unto her: 'I beleive, *Megge*, 'that they that have put me heere * weene they * think 'have donne me a highe diſpleaſure; but I aſ-'ſure thee on my faithe, mine owne good daugh-'ter, if it had not beene for my wife and yee 'that be my children I would not have failed 'long ere this, to have cloſed my ſelfe in as 'ſtreight a roome and ſtreighter too. But ſince 'I am come hither without myne owne deſert, 'I truſt that GOD of his goodneſſe will 'diſchardge me of my care, and with his gra-'tious helpe ſupplie my lacke amonge you. I 'finde noe cauſe, I thanke GOD *Megg*, to rec-'kon my ſelfe in worſe caſe heere then at home, 'for meeethinkethe GOD makethe me a wanton, 'and ſetteth me on his lapp and dandlethe me.' Thus by his gratious demeanor in tribulation appered it that all the trouble that ever chaunced unto him weare to him noe painfull puniſhments by his patient ſufferance thearof, but of his patience profitable exerciſes. And at another time, when he had firſt queſtioned with my wife a

while of the order of his wife, children and ſtate of his houſe in his abſence, he asked her how Queen *Anne* did? in faith, Father, quoth ſhe, never better. Never better *Megg*! quoth he Ah las! *Megge*, alas! it pittieth me to remember into what miſerie ſhe ſhall ſhortlie come.

XXXI. After this Mr. Lieutenant, comming into his chamber to viſit him, rehearſed the benefites and freindſhips that he had many waies received of him, and howe muche bownde he was thearfore to entertain him, and to make him good cheere, which ſince, the caſe ſtandinge as it did, he could not without the Kinge's indignacion, he truſted, he ſaide, he would accept his good will, and ſuche poore cheere as he had. 'Mr. Lieu-
'tenant, quoth he againe, I verilie beleive as you
'maie ſoe are you my good freind indeed, and
'would, as you ſaie, with your beſt cheere enter-
'taine me, for the which I moſt hartelie thanke
'you: and aſſure your ſelfe, Mr Lieutenant, I
'doe not miſlike my cheere, but whenſoever I ſoe
'doe, then thruſt me out of your doores.'

25 *Hen.* VIII. c. 22 *Jan.* 15. 1533. XXXII. Whearas the Oathe confirminge the Supremacie and Matrimony was by the † firſt ſtatute in fewe wordes compriſed, the Lord Chauncellor

† This Statute did not ſet down the Form of the Oath to be taken, but only enacted, that as well all the Nobles of the Realm ſpiritual and temporal as all other the Kings Subjects —— ſhould make a corporal Oath in the preſence of His Majeſty, or before ſuch other as His Majeſtie will depute for the ſame, 'That they ſhall truly, firmly & conſtantly, without fraud 'or guile, obſerve, fulfil, maintain, defend, and keep to their 'cunning, wit and uttermoſt of their powers, the whole 'effects and contents of this preſent Act'. I have not ſeen any copy of the Oath tendred on this occaſion, but our Statute Book tells us that it was the very ſame which was enacted next Year: in which there's not one word of the King's Supremacy altho'

28 *Hen.* VIII. c. 1.

cellor and Mr. Secretarye did of their owne heads add mo wordes to it to make it appeere to the King's eares more pleaſant and plauſible, and that Oathe, ſoe amplified, cauſed they to be miniſtred to Sir *Tho: Moore*, and to all other through the Realme. Which Sir *Tho: Moore* perceavinge ſaid unto my wife, 'I maie tell thee *Megg* they 'that have committed me hither for refuſinge of 'this Oathe, not agreeable with their Statute 'are not by their owne lawe able to juſtifie mine 'impriſonment: And ſuerlie daughter, it is great 'pittie that anie Chriſtian Prince ſhould by a 'flexible counſaile readie to followe his affect-

'ions, altho' he then was by Parliament authorized Supreme Head, as He had been by Convocation ſometime before. Thus the Act relates this matter. That at the day at the laſt prorogation of this preſent Parliament, the Nobles & Commons took ſuch Oath as was then deviſed in writing for maintenance and defence of the ſaid Act. The tenour of which Oath hereafter enſueth: Ye ſhall ſweare to bear faith, truth and obedience alonely to the King's Majeſty and to his heirs of his body of his moſt dear and entirely beloved lawful wife Queen *Anne* begotten and to be begotten. And further to the heirs of our ſaid Sovereign Lord, according to the limitation in the Statute made for ſurety of his Succeſſion in the Crown of this Realme, mentioned and contained, and not to any, other within this Realm, nor foreign authority and potentate. And in caſe any Oath be made, or hath been made by you to any perſon or perſons that then ye to repute the ſame as vain and annihilate. And that to your cunning, wit and uttermoſt of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, ye ſhall obſerve, keep, maintain and defend the ſaid Act of Succeſſion, all the whole effects and contents thereof, and all other Acts and Statutes made in confirmation, or for execution of the ſame, or for any thing therein contained. And this ye ſhall do againſt all manner of perſons, of what eſtate, dignity, degree, or condition ſoever they be. And in no wiſe do or attempt, nor to your power ſuffer to be done or attempted directly or indirectly any thing or things privately or apertly to the let, hindrance, damage or derogation thereof, or of any part of the ſame by any manner of meanes or for any manner of pretence: ſo help you God, and all Saints, and the holy Evangeliſts.

'ions, and by a weake Clergie lackinge grace 'conſtantlie to ſtande to their learninge, with flat-'terie be ſo ſhamefullie abuſed.' But, at length, the Lord Chauncellor with Mr. Secretarie, eſpieinge their owne overſight in that behalf, weare faine afterward to finde the meanes that another Statute ſhould be made for the confirmation of the Oathe ſoe amplified with their additions.

XXXIII. After Sir *Tho: Moore* had given over his Office, and all other worldlie dooings thearwith to thintente he might from thenceforth ſettle himſelfe the more quietlie to the Service of GOD, then made he a conveyance for the diſpoſinge of all his lands, reſervinge to himſelfe an eſtate thearof onlie for tearme of life: and after his deceaſe aſſuringe ſome part thearof to his wife, ſome to his ſonne's wife for a Jointure in conſideration that She was an Heire in poſſeſſion of more then a hundred pounds land by the yeere, and ſome to me and my wife in recompence of our marriage mony with divers remainders over. Which conveiance and aſſurance was perfectlie finiſhed longe before the matter whearuppon he was atteinted was made an offence, and yet after by Statute cleerlie avoided; and ſoe weare all his landes that he had to his wife and children by the ſaide conveiance in ſuche ſort aſſured, contrarie to the order of Lawe, taken from them and brought into the King's hands, ſavinge that portion which he had appointed to my wife and me. Which although he had in the fore-ſaide conveyance reſerved as he did the reſt for tearme of life to himſelfe, nevertheles uppon further conſideracion two daies after by another conveiance hee gave the ſame immediatelye to my wife and me in poſſeſſion: And ſo becauſe the Statute had undonne onlie the firſt conveighance, givinge noe more

more to the Kinge but ſoe muche as paſſed by that, the ſecond conveyance, whearby it was given to my wife and me two daies after was without the compaſs of the Statute; and ſoe was our portion by that meanes cleerlie reſerved to us.

XXXIV. As Sir *Tho: Moore* in the Tower chaunced on a time lookinge out of his windowe to behold one Mr. *Raynolds* a religious, learned and virtuous Father of *Syon*, and 3 Monkes of the *Charter*-houſe for the matter of the Supremacy and * Matrimony goinge out of the Tower to execucion, he as one longinge in that journey to have accompanied them, ſaide unto my wife then ſtandinge theare beſides him, 'Loe doeſt 'thow not ſee, *Meg*, that theſe bleſſed Fathers 'be now as cheerfullie goinge to their deathes 'as bridegroomes to their marriage. Wherfore 'thearby maieſt thow ſee myne owne good daugh-'ter, what a great difference there is betweene 'ſuch as have in effect ſpent all their daies in a 'ſtreight and penitentiall and painfull life religi-'ouſlie, and ſuche as have in the World, like 'Worldlie wretches, (as thy poore father hath 'donne) conſumed all their time in pleaſure and 'eaſe licentiouſlie. For GOD conſideringe their 'longe continued life in moſt ſore and greivous 'pennance will noe longer ſuffer them to remaine 'heere in this Vale of miſerie, but ſpeedilie hence 'taketh them to the fruition of his everlaſtinge 'Deitie. Whearas thy ſillie father, *Megg*, that 'like a wicked caitiffe, hath paſſed forthe the

May 4. 1535.

 'whole

* By the Counſel and Exhortation of the Prior of the Charter-houſe the Convent ſubmitted and took the Oath of Succeſſion with this condition *as far as was lawful.* This was done *May* 4. 1534. *Strype's* Memorials, Vol. I. p. 195.

'whole courſe of his miſerable life moſt ſinfullie,
'GOD, thinkinge him not worthie ſoe ſoone to
'come to that eternall felicitie, leavethe him heere
'yet ſtill in this world further to be plagued and
'turmoiled with miſerie.'

XXXV. Within a while after Mr. Secretarie comminge to him into the Tower from the Kinge, pretended muche freindſhip towards him, and for his comfort towld him, that the King's Highnes was his good and gratious Lord, and mindeth not with anie matter whearin he ſhould have any cauſe of ſcruple henceforth to trouble his Conſcience. As ſoone as Mr. Secretarie was gone, to expreſſe what comforte he received of his wordes, he wrote with a cole, for inke then had he none, theſe verſes.

Flattringe fortune, looke thow never ſoe fayre,
Nor never ſo pleaſantly beginne to ſmile,
As tho' thow wouldſt my ruine all repayre,
Duringe my life thow ſhalt not me beguile,
Truſt I ſhall GOD to enter in a while,
Thy Haven of Heav'n ſure and uniforme,
Ever after thy calme looke I for noe ſtorme.

XXXVI. When Sir *Tho: Moore* had continued a good while in the Tower, my Ladye his wife obteyned Licenſe to ſee him. Who, at her firſt comminge, like a ſimple ignorant woman and ſomewhat worldlie to, with this manner of ſalutacion * homelie ſaluted him. 'What a good yeer, Mr. 'More, quoth ſhe, I marvaile that yow that hether-'to have binne taken for a wiſeman will now ſoe 'plaie the foole to lie heere in this cloſe filthie 'priſon, and be content thus to be ſhutt up a-'monge miſe and ratts, when you might be a-'broad at your libertie, and with the favour

* Gumvlie.

'and

‘ and good will bothe of the Kinge and his Coun-
‘ ſaile, if you would but doe as all the Biſhops
‘ and beſt-learned of this Realme have done.
‘ And ſeeing you have at *Chelſey* a right faire
‘ howſe, your Libraric, your gallarie, garden, or-
‘ chard and all other neceſſaries ſoe handſome
‘ about you, wheare you might in the companie
‘ of me your wife, your children and houſhold
‘ be merry, I muſe what a GOD's name you meane
‘ heere ſtill thus * fondlie to tarrie.’ After he * fooliſhly
had a while quietlie heard her, with a cheerfull
countenance he ſaid unto her; ‘ Is not this howſe,
‘ quoth he, as nigh heaven as myne owne?’ To
whome ſhe after her accuſtomed homelie faſhion
not likinge ſuche talke, anſwered, twittle, twattle,
twittle, twattle. ‘ How ſay yow, Mrs. *Alce*, is it
‘ not ſoe? *Bone Deus*, *bone Deus*, Man, will this
‘ geare never be leaft?’ quoth ſhe, ‘ Well then,
‘ Miſtriſs, *Alce*, if it be ſoe, quoth hee, it is verie
‘ well. For I ſee noe great cauſe why I ſhould
‘ muche joy in my gaie houſe, or in anie thinge
‘ thearunto belonginge, when if I ſhould but ſea-
‘ ven yeeres lie buried under the ground and then
‘ ariſe and come thither againe, I ſhould not faile
‘ to finde ſome thearin that would bid me get me
‘ out of dores and tell me, it weare none of mine.
‘ What cauſe have I then to like ſuch an houſe
‘ as would ſo ſoon forget his Maſter? Soe her
‘ perſwaſions moved him but a little.’

XXXVII. Not longe after came to him the Lord Chauncellor, the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, with Mr. Secretarie and certaine other of the privie Councell, at two ſeuerall times by all Pollicyes poſſible procuringe him either preciſelie to confeſſe the Supremacie, or preciſelie to deny it, wherunto, as appeereth by his examinacions

in

in the ſaide * great booke, they could never bring him. Shortlie theruppon Mr. *Riche*, afterward Lord *Riche*, then newlie made the King's Sollicitor, Sir *Richard Southwell*, and one Mr. *Palmer*, ſervant to the Secretarie, weare ſent to Sir *Tho:* *Moore* into the Tower to fetche awaie his † bookes from him. And while Sir *Richard Southwell* and Mr. *Palmer* weare buſie in the truſſinge up of his bookes, Mr. *Ritch*, pretendinge freindlie talke with him, amonge other thinges of a ſet courſe, as it ſeemed, ſaide thus unto him. 'Foraſmuche 'as it is well knowne, Mr. *Moore*, that yow are 'a man bothe wiſe and learned as well in the 'lawes of the Realme as otherwiſe, I praie you 'therfore, Sir, let me be ſoe bolde, as of good 'will, to put unto you this caſe,. Admitt theare 'weare, Sir, quoth he, an act of Parliament that 'the Realme ſhould take me for Kinge, would 'not you, Mr. *Moore*, take me for Kinge? Yes, 'Sir, quothe Sir *Tho:* *Moore*, that would I.' I 'put the caſe further, quothe Mr. *Riche*, that 'weare theare an act of Parliament that all the 'Realme ſhould take me for Pope, would not 'you then, Mr. *Moore*, take me for Pope? For 'anſweare, Sir, quoth Sir *Tho:* *Moore* to your 'firſt caſe, the Parliament maie well, Mr. *Riche*, 'meddle with the ſtate of temporall Princes, but 'to make anſweare to your other caſe, I will 'put you this caſe; Suppoſe the Parliament 'would make a lawe that GOD ſhould not be 'GOD, would you then, Mr. *Riche*, ſaye that 'GOD weare not GOD? Noe, Sir, quoth he, 'that would I not; Sithe noe Parliament maie 'make anie ſuche lawe. Noe more ſaid Sir *Tho:* '*Moore* (as Mr. *Riche* reported of him) could 'the

*** His Works in Engliſh: See his Letter to his daughter *Roper*.**

† Wherupon he ſhut up his Chamber-windowes, ſaying, When the wares are gone, and the tooles taken away, We muſt ſhut up ſhop.

'the Parliament make the Kinge Supreame Head 'of the Churche:' Uppon whoſe onelie report was Sir *Tho: Moore* indicted of high treaſon on the † Statute to deny the Kinge to be Supreame Head of the Churche, into which Indictment weare put theſe hainous wordes, *malitiouſlie*, *traiterouſlie*, and *divelliſhlie*. 26. *Hen.* VIII. c. 13.

XXXVIII. When Sir *Tho: Moore* was brought from the Tower to *Weſtminſter* Hall to anſweare to th'indictment, and at the Kinge's benche barre theare before the Judges arraigned, he openlie towld them that he would upon the Indictment [have] abidden in Lawe, but that he thearbie ſhould have binne driven to confeſſe of himſelfe the matter indeed, that was the denyall of the King's Supremacye, which he proteſted was untrue. Whearfore he thearunto pleaded not guiltie, and ſoe reſerved unto him advantage to be taken of the bodie of the matter after verdict to avoide the Indictment: and moreover added, that if thoſe onlie odious tearms, *malitiouſlie*, *traiterouſlie*, and *diabolicallie*, weare put out of the Indictment, he ſaw thearin nothing juſtlie to chardge him. And for proofe to the Jurie that Sir *Tho: Moore* was guiltie of this treaſon, Mr. *Riche* was called foorthe to give evidence unto them uppon his Oath, as hee did: Againſt whome thus ſworne Sir *Tho: Moore* beganne in this wiſe to ſay. 'If 'I weare a man, my lordes, that did not regard 'an Oathe I needed not, as it is well knowen, 'ſtande in this place, and at this time, nor in 'this caſe as an accuſed perſon. And if this 'Oath of yours, Mr. *Riche*, be true, then I praie 'that I never ſee GOD in the face, which I 'would not ſaie, weare it otherwiſe, to winne the

† An Act whereby Offenſes be made high treaſon, & taking away all the Sanctuaries for all manner of high treaſons.

'the whole World.' Then recited he to the Court the diſcourſe of all their communicacion in the Tower accordinge to the truthe, and ſaide; 'In good faithe, Mr. *Rich*, I am ſorrier for your 'perjurie then for mine owne perill, and you 'ſhall underſtand that neither I nor noe man elſe 'to my knowledge, ever tooke you to be a man 'of ſuche credit as in anie matter of importance 'I or anie other would at anie time vouchſafe to 'communicate with you. And I, as you knowe, 'of noe ſmall while have binne acquainted with 'you and your converſacion, who have knowen 'you from your youthe hitherto, for we longe 'dwelled together in one Pariſhe. Whearas your 'ſelfe can tell (I am ſorrie you compell me ſoe 'to ſaie) you weare eſteemed verie light of your 'tongue, a great dicer, and of noe commendable 'fame. And ſoe in your houſe at the *Temple*, 'wheare hath binne your cheefe bringinge up 'weare you likewiſe accounted. Can it therfore 'ſeeme likelie to your Honorable Lordſhipps that 'I would in ſoe weightie a cauſe ſoe unadviſedlie 'overſhoote my ſelfe as to truſt Mr. *Riche*, a man 'of me alwaies reputed of little troth, as your 'Lordſhipps have heard, ſoe farre above my ſo-'veraigne Lord the Kinge, or anie of his noble 'counſaillers, that I would unto him utter the 'ſecrets of my conſcience touchinge the Kinge's 'Supremacie, the ſpeciall point and onelie marke 'at my handes ſoe longe ſought for? A thinge 'that I never did, nor never would, after the Sta-'tute thearof made, reveile unto the Kinges 'Highnes himſelfe or to anie of his honourable 'counſailors, as it is not unknowne unto your 'Honours at ſundrie ſeverall times ſent from His 'owne Perſon to the Tower to me for none other 'purpoſe. Can this in your judgment, My Lords, 'ſeeme likelie to be true? And yet if I had ſoe

'donne

'donne indeed, my Lords, as Mr. *Ritch* hath
'ſworne, ſeinge it was ſpoken but in ſecret fami-
'liar talke, nothinge affirminge, and onelie in put-
'tinge of caſes, without other diſpleaſant circum-
'ſtances, it cannot juſtlie be taken to be ſpoken
'*malitiouſlie*: and wheare theare is no malice,
'theare can be noe offence. And over this I can
'never thinke, my Lords, that ſoe manie worthie
'Byſhops, ſoe manie honorable perſonages, and
'ſoe manie other worſhipfull, virtuous, wiſe and
'learned men as at the makeinge of that Lawe
'weare in that Parliament aſſembled, ever ment
'to have anie man puniſhed by deathe in whome
'theare could be founde noe malice, takinge *ma-*
'*litia* for *malevolentia*: for if *malitia* be general-
'lie taken for ſinne, noe man is theare then that
'can excuſe himſelfe. *Quia ſi dixerimus quod*
'*peccatum non habemus, noſmet ipſos ſeducemus, et*
'*veritas in nobis non eſt.* And overlie this worde
'*malitiouſlie* is [in this Statute material, as this
'term *forcible* is] in the Statute of *forcible entreſſe*,
'by which Statute if a man enter peaceablie and
'put not his adverſaries out *forceablie* it is noe
'offence, [but if he put him out *forceablie* then
'by that Statute it is an offence] and ſoe ſhall
'he be puniſhed by this tearme *forceablie*. Be-
'ſides this, the manifolde goodnes of the King's
'Highnes himſelfe, that hathe binne ſoe manie
'waies my ſinguler good Lord, and that hath
'ſoe deerlie loved and truſted me, even at my ve-
'rie firſt comminge into his honourable ſervice
'with the dignity of his honourable Privie-Coun-
'ſaile vouchſafinge to admit me, and to Offices
'of great credit and worſhip moſt liberallie ad-
'vanced me; and finallie with that weightie
'roome of his Grace's high Chauncellor, the like
'wherof he never did to temporall man before,
'next to his owne royall perſon the higheſt Of-

'ficer

'ficer in this noble Realme, soe farre above my 'qualities or merites able and meet therfore of 'his owne incomparable benignitie honoured and 'exalted me by the space of twentie yeares and 'more shewinge his continuall favour toward me, 'and, untill at myne owne poore suite it pleased 'his highnes givinge me licence with his Maje-'sties favour to bestowe the residewe of my life 'for the provision of my soule in the service of 'GOD, and of his speciall goodnes to discharge 'and disburthen me, most benignelie heaped ho-'nors continually more and more uppon me: 'All this his highnes goodnes, I saie, soe longe 'thus continuallie extended towards me, weare 'in my minde, my Lords, matter sufficient to 'convince this slanderous surmise by this man soe 'wrongfullie imagined against me.' Mr *Ritch*, seeinge himselfe soe disproved, and his credit soe fowlie defaced, caused Sir *Richard Southwell* and Mr. *Palmer*, who in the time of their communi-cation weare in the chamber, to bee sworne what wordes had passed betwixt them. Whearuppon Mr. *Palmer* uppon his deposicion said, That 'be-'cause he was appointed onlie to looke to the 'conveighance of his bookes into a sacke he gave 'noe eare to them.' Sir *Richard Southwell* like-wise saide uppon his deposicion the effect that Mr. *Palmer* had saide before. After this weare theare manie other reasons, not now in my re-membrance, by Sir *Tho: Moore* in his owne de-fence alleadged to the discreadit of Mr. *Ritches* foresaid evidence, & proofe of the cleernes of his owne conscience. Al which notwithstandinge, the Jurie fownde him guiltie, and incontinent up-pon their verditt the Lord Chauncellor, for that matter cheife Commissioner, beginninge to pro-ceede in Judgment against him, Sir *Tho: Moore* saide unto him, 'My Lord, when I was towards

'the

'the Lawe the manner in ſuche caſe was to aske 'the Priſoner before Judgment what he could 'ſaie why Judgment ſhould not be given againſte 'him.' Whearuppon the Lord Chauncellor, 'ſtaieinge his judgment whearin he had partlie 'proceeded, demanded of him what he was able 'to ſaie to the contrarye.' Who then in this ſorte moſt humblie made anſwere.

XXXIX. 'Foraſmuche, my Lords, quoth he, 'as this Indictment is grownded uppon an Act 'of Parliament directlie repugnant to the Lawes 'of GOD and his holie Churche, the ſupreame 'government whearof, or anie part thearof maie 'noe temporall Prince preſume by anie lawe to 'take uppon him, as rightfullie belonginge to the 'Sea of *Roome*, a Spirituall preheminency by the 'mouthe of our Saviour himſelfe perſonallie pre-'ſent uppon the earthe onlie to Saint *Peter* & 'his Succeſſors Byſhops of the ſame Sea by ſpe-'ciall prerogative graunted, yt is therfore in lawe 'amongſte Chriſtian men inſufficient to chardge 'anie chriſtian man. And for proofe thearof, like 'as amongſt divers other reaſons and authorities, '[he declared] that like as this Realme, beinge 'but a Member and ſmall part of the Churche, 'mighte not make a particular lawe diſagreeable 'to the generall lawe of Chriſte's univerſall Ca-'tholicke Churche, noe more then the Cittie of '*London*, beinge but one poore member in reſpect 'of the whole Realme, might make a Lawe a-'gainſt an Act of Parliament to binde the whole 'Realme: Soo further ſhewed hee that it was 'both contrary to the Lawes & Statutes of this 'our Land yet unrepealed, as they might evident-'lie perceave in MAGNA CHARTA, *quod* 'Eccleſia Anglicana *libera ſit, et habeat omnia* '*ſua jura integra et illæſa*, and alſoe contrarie to

'that

'that facred Oathe which the King's Highnes 'himfelfe and everie other Chriftian Prince alwaies 'with great folemnitie, receaveth at their Coro- 'nations. Alleadginge moreover that noe more 'might this Realme of *England* refufe obedience 'to the Sea of *Roome*, then might the child re- 'fufe obedience to his owne naturall Father. For, 'as St. *Paul* faid to the *Corinthians*, *I have re- 'generated you, my children in Chrift*; foe might 'St. *Gregorye* Pope of *Roome* (Since by St. *Au- 'guftine* his meffenger we firft receaved the Chri- 'ftian Faithe) of us Engliffhmen trulie faie, You 'are my children, becaufe I have under Chrift 'geven to you everlaftinge falvacion, a farre high- 'er and better inheritance then any carnall Fa- 'ther can leave to his children, and by regenera- 'cion have made you fpirituall children in Chrift.' Then was it by the Lord Chauncellor thearunto anfweared, That 'feeinge all the Byfhops, Uni- 'verfities, and beft learned [men of the Realme] 'had to this Act agreed, it was muche mar- 'vailed that hee alone againft them all would foe 'ftiffelie ftand thearat, and foe vehementlie argue 'thearagainft.' To that Sir *Tho: Moire* replied, fayeinge: 'If the number of Byfhops and Uni- 'verfities be foe materiall as your Lordfhipp feem 'ethe to take it, then fee I little caufe, my Lord, 'why that thinge in my confcience fhould make 'anie chaunge. For I nothinge doubt but that, 'though not in this Realme, yet in Chriftendome 'about, of thefe well learned Byfhopps and ver- 'tuous men that be yet alive they be not the 'fowerth part that be of your opinion thearin. 'But if I fhould fpeake of thofe that be dead, of 'whome manie be now holye Sainctes in Heaven, 'I am verie fure it is the farre greater part of 'them that all the while they lived thought in 'this cafe that waie that I now thinke; and ther-

'fore

'fore am I not bownde, my Lord, to conforme
'my conſcience to the counſaile of owre Realme,
'againſt the generall counſaile of Chriſtendome.'

XL. Now when Sir *Tho: Moore* for the avoidinge of the Indictment had taken as manie exceptions as he thought meet, and manie moe reaſons then I can now remember alleadged, the Lord Chauncellor, lothe to have the burthen of the Judgment wholie to depend uppon himſelfe, theare openlie asked the adviſe of the Lord *Fitz-James* then Lord Chiefe Juſtice of the King's benche and joined in commiſſion with him, Whither this Indictment weare ſufficient or not. Who, like a wiſe man anſwered, 'My Lords all, by 'Saint *Julian* (that was ever his Oathe) I muſt 'needs confeſſe that if the Act of Parliament be 'not unlawfull, then is the Indictment in my con-'ſcience goode.' Whearuppon the Lord Chaun-'cellor ſaid to the reſt of the Lords, 'Lo, my 'Lords, loe you heere what my Lord cheife 'Juſtice ſaiethe,' and ſoe immediately gave judgment againſt him. After which ended, the Commiſſioners yet further curteoſlie offer'd him, if he had anie thinge elſe to alledge for his defence, to graunt him favourable Audience. Who anſweared, 'more have I not to ſaie, my Lordes, 'but that like as the bleſſed Apoſtle Sainct *Paul*, 'as we read in the Actes of the Apoſtles, was 'preſent and conſented to the deathe of St. *Stephen* 'and kepte their cloathes that ſtoned him to deathe, 'and yet be they now bothe twaine holie Saincts 'in Heaven, and ſhall continue theare freinds to-'gether for ever: ſoe I verilie truſt & ſhall therfore 'right hartelie praie, that though youre Lord-'ſhipps have now heere in earthe beene Judges 'to my condemnacion, we maie yet heerafter in-'heaven all meet together to everlaſtinge ſalvation.'

Thus muche touchinge Sir *Tho: Moore's* arraignment, beinge not theare preſent my ſelfe, have I by the credible report partlie of the Right Worſhipfull Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, partlie of *Rich: Chaywood* and *John Webb* gentlemen, with others of good credit at the heeringe thearof preſent themſelves, as farre forthe as my poore wit and memorie would ſerve me, heere trulie rehearſed unto you.

XLI. Now after his arraignment departed he from the barre to the Tower againe led by Sir *William Kingſtone*, a tall, ſtronge and comelie Knight, Conſtable of the Tower, and his verie deer freind. Who when he had brought him from *Weſtminſter* to the owld ſwan towards the Tower, theare with a heavie heart, the teares runninge downe his cheekes, bade him farewell. Sir *Tho: Moore*, ſeeinge him ſoe ſorrowfull, comforted him with as good wordes as he could, ſaieinge, 'good Mr. *Kingſtone*, trouble not your ſelfe, 'but be of good cheere: For I will praie for 'you and my good Ladie your wife that wee 'maie meet in Heaven together, wheare we ſhall 'be merrie for ever and ever.' Soone after Sir *William Kingſtone*, talkinge with me of Sir *Tho: Moore*, ſaied, 'In good faith, Mr. *Rooper*, I was 'aſhamed of my ſelfe that at my departinge from 'your Father I fownde my hart ſoe feoble and 'his ſoe ſtronge, that he was faine to comfort me 'that ſhould rather have comforted him.'

XLII. When Sir *Tho: Moore* came from *Weſtminſter* to the Tower Ward againe, his daughter, my wife, deſirous to ſee her Father, whome ſhe thought ſhe ſhould never ſee in this World after, and a ſoe to have his finall bleſſinge, gave attendance about the Tower Wharffe wheare ſhe knewe he

ſhould

ſhould paſſe before he could enter into the Tower. Theare tarryeinge his comminge, as ſoone as ſhe ſawe him, after his bleſſinge uppon her knees reverentlie received, ſhe haſtinge towards him, without conſideracion or care of her ſelfe preſſinge in amongſt the midſt of the thronge, and companie of the Garde that with Holbards and Bills went rownd about him, haſtelie ranne to him, and theare openlie in ſight of them imbraced him [and] tooke him about the neck and kiſſed him. Who well likinge her moſt naturall and deere daughterlie affeccion towards him gave her his fatherlie bleſſinge and manie godlie wordes of comfort beſides. From whome after ſhe was departed, ſhe not ſatisfied with the former ſight of him, and like one that had forgotten herſelfe, beinge all raviſhed with the entire love of her Father, havinge reſpect neither to her ſelfe nor to the preſſe of people and multitude that weare theare about him, ſuddainlie turned backe againe, ranne to him as before, tooke him about the necke and divers times kiſſed him lovinglie, and at laſt with a full and heavie heart was faine to depart from him: the beholdinge whearof was to manie that weare preſent ſoe lamentable that it made them for veric ſorrow thearof to weepe and mourne.

XLIII. Soe remained Sir *Tho: Moore* more then a weeke after his Judgment in the Tower. From whence the daie before he ſuffered he ſent his ſhirt of heare, not willing to have it ſeene, to my wife his deerlie beloved daughter, and a Letter written with a cole, conteined in the foreſaid booke of his Workes, expreſſinge the fervent deſire he had to ſuffer on the morrow in theſe wordes followeinge. 'I comber you, good *Margrett*, [much] 'but I would be ſorrie [if] it ſhould be anie 'longer then to morrow. For to Morrow is

See Letters at the end. No XII.

July 6. Octav: Apostolorum *Petri & Pauli.*

‘ Saincte *Thomas* even-day and the Utas of St. *Peeter*,
‘ and therfore to morrowe I longe to goe to GOD;
‘ It weare a daie verie meet and convenient for
‘ me. Deere *Megg*, I never liked your manner
‘ better towards me then when you last kissed me.
‘ For I like when daughterlie love and deere cha-
‘ ritie hath noe leasure to looke to worldlie cour-
‘ tesie,’ And soe uppon the next morrowe, be-

Translatio Sancti *Thomæ* Marty. *July* 7.

inge tuesdaie beinge St. *Thomas* his eve daye and the Utas of Saincte *Peeter* in the Yeere of our Lord 1535, accordinge as he in his Letter the daie before had wished, earlie in the morninge came to him Sir *Tho*: *Pope*, his singular good freinde, on message from the Kinge and counsaile that he should the same daie before nine of the clock in the morninge suffer deathe, and that therfore he should forthwith prepare himself thearto. ‘ Mr.
‘ *Pope*, quoth Sir *Tho*: *Moore*, for your good ti-
‘ dings I hartelie thanke you. I have been al-
‘ waies muche bownden to the Kinge’s Highnes
‘ for the benefites and honours that he hath still
‘ from time to time most bountifullye heaped up-
‘ pon me; and yet more bownden am I to his
‘ Grace for puttinge me into this place wheare I
‘ have had convenient time and space to have re-
‘ membrance of my end. And soe, GOD helpe
‘ me, most of all, Mr. *Pope*, am I bownden to
‘ his highnes that it pleaseth him soe shortlie to
‘ ridd me from the miseries of this wretched
‘ world, and therfore will I not faile earnestlie to
‘ praie for his Grace bothe heere and allsoe in
‘ the worlde to come.’ The Kinge’s pleasure is farther, quoth Mr. *Pope*, that at your execution you shall not use manie wordes. ‘ Mr. *Pope*,
‘ quoth he, you doe well to give me warninge of
‘ his grace’s pleasuer, for otherwise at that time
‘ had I purposed somewhat to have spoken, but
‘ of noe matter whearwith his Grace or any should

‘ have

'have had cauſe to be offended. Nevertheles,
'whatſoever I intended, I am readie obedientlie
'to conforme my ſelſe to his grace's commande-
'ment; and I beſeeche you, good Mr. *Pope*,
'to be a meane to his highnes that my daughter
'*Margaret* maie be at my buriall.' The Kinge is content allreadie, quoth Mr. *Pope*, that your wife and childeren and other your freinds ſhall have libertie to be preſent thearat. 'Oh how muche be-
'holdinge then, ſaid Sir *Tho: Moore*, am I unto his
'Grace that unto my poore buriall vouchſafethe
'to have ſoe gratious conſideracion!' Whear-withall Mr. *Pope*, takeinge his leave, could not refraine from weepinge. Which Sir *Tho: Moore* perceavinge comforted him in this wiſe. 'Quiet
'your ſelfe, good Mr. *Pope*, and be not diſcom-
'forted: for I truſt that we ſhall once in Heaven
'ſee eache other full merrilie, wheare we ſhall be
'ſure to live and love togeather in joyfull bliſſe
'eternallie.' Uppon whoſe departuer, Sir *Tho: Moore*, as one that had binne invited to ſome ſolemn feaſt, chaunged himſelfe into his beſt apparrell. Which Mr. Lieutenant eſpieing adviſed him to put it of, ſayeinge, that he that ſhould have it was but a raskall. 'What, Mr. Lieu-
'tenant quothe he, ſhall I account him a raskall
'that ſhall doe me this daie ſoe ſinguler a benifit?
'Naie, I aſſuer you, weare it cloath of Gold, I
'ſhould thinke it well beſtowed on him, as Sct. *Cy-*
'*prian* did, who gave his executioner thirtie peeces
'of gould.' And albeit, at length, he, through Mr Lieutenant's importunate perſuaſion, altered his apparrail, yet, after the example of the holie Martyr Sct. *Cyprian*, did he, of that little money that was left him, ſend an Angell of gould to his executioner. And ſoe was he by Mr. Lieutenant brought out of the Tower to the Place of Execution. Whcare goinge up the Skaffold, which

was ſoe weake that it was readie to fall, he ſaide merrilie to the Lieutenant, 'I praie ſee me up ſafe, 'and for my comminge downe let me ſhift for my 'ſelfe.' Then deſired he all the people thear-about to praie for him, and to beare witneſs with him that he ſhould theare ſuffer deathe in and for the faithe of the Catholicke Churche. Which donne he kneeled downe, and after his prayers ſaide turned to the Executioner with a cheerfull countenance, and ſaide unto him, 'Plucke up thy 'ſpirits, man, and be not affraide to doe thine 'office: My neck is verie ſhort, take heede ther-'fore thou ſtrike not awrie for ſavinge of thine 'honeſtie.' Soe paſſed Sir *Tho: Moore* out of this world to GOD uppon the verie ſame daie which he moſt deſired. Soone after his deathe came Intelligence thearof to the Emperor *Charles*. Whearuppon he ſent for Sir *Tho: Eliott*, our Engliſhe Embaſſadour, and ſaid to him; My Lord Embaſſador, We underſtande that the Kinge yower Maſter hath put his faithfull and grave counſailor to deathe. Whearuppon Sir *Tho: Eliott* anſwearred, that he underſtoode nothinge thearof. Well, ſaide the Emperor, it is too true: and this will We ſaie, that had We binne Maſter of ſuch a ſervant, of whoſe dooings ourſelves have had theſe manie Yeeres noe ſmall experience, We would rather have loſt the beſt cittie of our Dominions, then have loſt ſuch a worthie Counſailor. Which matter was by the ſame Sir *Tho: Eliott* to my ſelfe, to my wife, to Mr *Clement* and his wife, to Mr. *Jhon Heywood* and his wife, and unto divers others his freindes accordinglie reported.

LETTERS

LETTERS

OF

Sir *Thomas More*, his beloved daughter

Mrs. *Margaret Rooper* and of *Eraſmus*

Relating to

The foreſaid HISTORY of Sir *Thomas's* LIFE and DEATH.

N° I.

Sir Thomas More's *Letter to Mr.* Thomas Crom-well *than one of the Kinges Privy Connſel.* *Febru.* 1. 1532-3

RIght worſhipfull in my moſte harty wiſe I recommend me unto you. Sir my Coſyn *Willyam Raſtal* hath enformed me that your maſterſhip of your goodnes ſhewed him, that it hath been reported, that I haue againſt the booke of certein articles (which was late put forth in print by the

* de Potestate Christianorum Regum in uis Eccle sijs contra Pontificis Tyrannidem & horribilem impietatem.

Or. The King's Justification of his Appeal from the Pope. *Strype* Eccle. Memrials, Vol I. p. 147

* Kinges honorable counsel) made an answere, & deliuered it unto my said cosin to print. And albeit that he for his part truly denied it, yet because he somewhat remained in doubte, whither your mastership gaue him therin ful credens or not, he desired me for his farther discharge to declare you the very troth. Sir as help me GOD neither my said cosein nor any man els, neuer had any boke of mine to print, one or other, since the said boke of the Kinges counsel came forth. For of trouth the last boke that he printed of mine was that boke that I made against an unknowen heretike which hath sent ouer a worke that walketh in ouer many mens handes named *the Souper of the Lord*, against the blessed Sacrament of the Alter. My aunswere whereunto albeit that the printer (unware to me) dated it anno. 1534. by which it semeth to be printed since the feast of the circumsicion, yet was it of very trouth both made & printed, & many of them gone before Christmas. And my self neuer espied the printer's oversight in the date, in more than three wekes after. And this was in good faith the last boke that my cosin had of myne Which being true as of trouth it shal be founde sufficeth for his declaracion in this behalfe. As touching myne owne self, I shal say thus much farther, that on my faith I neuer made any such booke, nor neuer thought to do. I red the said boke ones ouer, & neuer more. But I am for ones reading very farre of from many thinges, wherof I would haue metely suer knowledge ere euer I wold make an answere, though the matter & the booke both, concerned the poreste man in a towne, & were of the simpleste man's making to. For of many thinges which in that boke be touched, in some I knowe not the lawe, & in some I knowe not the fact. therefore would I neuer be so childish, nor so

plaie

plaie the proud arrogant fole, by whomſoeuer the booke had bene made & to whomſoeuer the matter had belonged, as to preſume to make an aunſwere to the boke, concerning the matter wherof I neuer were ſufficiently lerned in the lawes, nor fully enſtructed in the factes. And then while the matter parteined unto the Kinges highnes, & the boke profeſſeth openlie that it was made by hys honorable counſail, & by them put in print with his graces licens obteined therunto, I verely truſt in good faith that of your good mind toward me, though I neuer wrote you worde thereof, your ſelfe will both think & ſay ſo much for me, that it were a thing far vnlikely, that an anſwer ſhold be made therunto bi me. I wil by the grace of almighty God, as long as it ſhal pleſe him to lend me life in this worlde, in all ſuch places, (as I am of my duety to God & the Kinges grace bownden) truly ſay my mind, & diſcharge my Conſcience, as becometh a pore honeſt true man, wherſoeuer I ſhal be by his grace commaunded. Yet ſurely if it ſhold happen any boke to come abrode in the name of hys grace or hys honorable counſail, if the boke to me ſemed ſuch as my ſelf would not haue giuen mine owne aduiſe to the making, yet I know my bounden duety, to bere more honour to my prince, & more reuerence to his honorable counſaile, than that it could become me for many cauſes, to make an aunſwere unto ſuch a boke, or to counſail & aduiſe any man els to do it. And therſore as it is a thing I neuer dyd nor entendid, ſo I hartely beſech you if you ſhal happen to perceue any man, either of euil wil or of lightnes, any ſuch thing report by me, be ſo good maiſter to me, as helpe to bring us both together. And than neuer take me for honeſt after, but if ye finde his honeſty ſomewhat enpaired in the matter. Thus am I bold upon your goodnes

nes to encomber you with my long rude letter, in the contentes wherof, I eftſones hartely beſeche you to be in manner aforeſaid, good maiſter & frend vnto me whereby you ſhall binde me to be your bedeſman while I liue: as knoweth our Lord, whoſe eſpeciall grace both do help & ghoſtly long preſerue & keep you. At *Chelchi* in the vigile of
1532-3. the purificacion of our bleſſed Lady by the hand of

Aſſuredly all your owne,

Thomas More knight.

N° II.

February or March, 1533-4

Sir Thomas More's *Letter to Maiſter* Thomas Cromwel, *&c.*

RIght worſhipful, after right hartye recommendacions, ſo it is that I am enformed, that there is a byl put in againſt me into the higher houſe before the lordes, concerning my
* Nun communicacion with the * nome of *Canterbury*, & mi writing vnto her: wherof I not a little meruaile, the trouthe of the matter being ſuch as God & I know it is, & as I haue plainly declared vnto you by my former letters, wherin I found you than ſo good, that I am now bold eftſones vpon your goodnes to deſire you to ſhew me the fauour, that I might the rather by your good means, haue a copy of the bil. Which ſene, if I find any untrue ſurmiſe therein, as of likihode there is, I may make mine humble ſute vnto the kinges

kinges good grace, & declare the truth, either to his grace, or by his graces commaundement, wherſoeuer the matter ſhal require. I am ſo ſure of my truth toward his grace, that I cannot miſtruſt his graces fauoure towardes me, vpon the trouth knowen, nor the jugement of any honeſt man. Nor neuer ſhal there loſſe in this matter greue me, being my ſelf ſo innocent as god & I know me, whatſoeuer ſhould happen me therin, by the grace of almighty god, who both bodely & ghoſtly preſerue you. At *Chelſey* this preſent *ſaterday* by the hand of

hartely all your owne,

Tho: More knight.

N° III.

Sir Thomas More's *Letter to the King.*

IT may like your highnes to cal to your gracious remembrance, that at ſuch time as of the great weighty rome & office of your chaunceller (with which ſo farre aboue my merites or qualities able & mete therfore, your highnes had of your incomparable goodnes honored & exaltyd me) ye were ſo good & gracious vnto me, as at my pore humble ſute to diſcharge & disburden me, giuing me licens with your gracious fauour to beſtow the reſidue of my life to come, about the prouiſion for my ſoule in the ſeruice of god, & to be your bedeſman & pray for you, it pleſed your highnes ferther to ſaye vnto me, that

for

for the ſeruice which I before had done you (which it than liked your goodnes far aboue my deſeruing to commend) that in any ſute that I ſhould after haue to your grace, that either ſhould concerne mine honour, (the word it liked your highnes to vſe vnto me) or that ſhold perteine vnto my profite, I ſhould finde your highnes good & gracious lorde vnto me. So is it now gracious ſouerain the worldly honour is the thing where-
*poſſeſſion of I haue reſigned both the * poſſion and the deſire, in the reſignacion of your moſt honorable office. And worldly profite I truſt experiens prou-
† prove eth & daily more & more ſhal † pue that I neuer was very gredy theron. But now is my moſt humble ſute vnto your excellent highnes, to beſeche the ſame ſomwhat to tender my pore honeſty: howbeit principally, that of your accuſtomed goodnes, no ſiniſter informacion moue your noble grace to haue any more diſtruſt of my troth & deuocion toward you, than I haue or ſhal during my life geue cauſe. For in this matter of the nunne of *Canterbury*, I haue vnto your truſty counſeller maiſter *Tho: Cromwel* by my writing as plainly declared the trouth, as I poſſibly can. Which my declaracion, of his duti toward your grace, & his goodnes toward me, he hath I un-
* part derſtand declared vnto your grace. In any * pt of al which my dealing whither any other man
† peradventue may † padventure put any doubt or moue any ſcruple of ſuſpicion, that can I neither tell, nor lieth in my hand to let. But vnto my ſelf, it is not poſſible any part of my ſaid demeanure to ſeme euil, the very clereneſſe of mine own Conſcience knoweth in all the matter my mind and entent ſo good. Wherfore, moſt gracious ſouereine, I neither wil, nor yet can wel become me, with your highnes to reſon or argue the matter, but in my moſt humble maner proſtrate at your gra

cious-

cious fete, I only beſeche your grace, with your owne highe prudence [& your accuſtomed goodnes, conſidir & way the matter. And if that in your ſo doing, your owne verteous minde ſhal giue you, that notwithſtanding the manifold & excellent goodnes that your gracious highnes hath by ſo many maner wayes uſed vnto me, I were a wretche of ſuch a monſtruouſe ingratitude, as coulde with anye of them all, or any other perſon liuing, digreſſe from my bounden dutye of allegeans toward your good grace, than deſire I no ferther fauour at your graciouſe hand, than the loſſe of all that euer I may leſe, goodes, landes, liberty, & finally my lyfe with all; wherof the keping of any part vnto my ſelf, could neuer do me peniworth of pleaſure, but only ſhould my comfort be, that after my ſhort life & your long (which with continnual proſperite to goddes pleaſure our lord of his mercy ſend you) I ſhold ones mete your grace againe in heauen, & there be mery with you: where amonge mine other pleaſures this ſhoulde yet be one, that your grace ſhold ſurely ſe there than, that howſoeuer you take me, I am your true bedeman now, & euer haue ben, & wil be til I die, howſoeuer your pleaſure be to do by me. Howbeit, if in the conſideryng of my cauſe, your high wiſdome, & gracious goodnes, perceue (as I verely truſt in god you ſhall) that I none otherwiſe haue demeaned my ſelf, than well may ſtande with my bounden duty of faithfulnes toward your royal majeſty, than in my moſt humble wiſe, I beſech your moſt noble grace, that the knowledge of your true gracious perſwaſion in that behalfe, maye releue the torment of my preſent heauines conceued of the dread & feare (by that I here ſuch a greuous bill put by your lerned counſaile into your high court of parlement againſt me.) leſt your grace might by

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ſome ſiniſter informacion, be moued any thyngc to thinke the contrary. Which if your highnes do not, as I truſt in god & your gret goodnes (the matter by your own high prudence examined & conſidered,) ye wil not, than in my moſt humble manner, I beſeche your highnes ferther, (albeit that in reſpect of my former requeſt this other thing is very ſleight) yet ſith your highnes hath here before of your mere abundant goodnes heped & accumilate vpon me (tho I was ther to farre unworthy) from time to time both worſhip & great honour to: Sith I now haue left al ſuch thinges, & nothing ſeke or deſire, but the life to come, & pray for your grace the while, it may like your highnes of your accuſtomed benignite, ſomwhat to tender my pore honeſty, & neuer ſuffer (by the meane of ſuch a byll put forth againſt me) anye man take occaſion hereafter againſt the troth to ſlander me: which ſhould yet by the peryll of their owne ſoules do themſelf more hurt then me: which ſhal I truſt ſettle my harte with your gracious fauour, to depende vpon the comfort of the trouth & hope of heauen, & not vpon the fallible oppinion, or ſone ſpoken woordes of light & ſone changeable people. And thus moſt dradde & moſt dere ſoueraine lord, I beſeche the bleſſed Trinite preſerue your moſt noble grace both body & ſoule, & all that are your well willers & amende al the contrarye: amonge whome, if euer I be or euer haue bene one, than praye I God that he maye with my open ſhame & deſtructcion declare it.

N° IV.

N° IV.

Sir Thomas More's *Letter to Mr.* Thomas Cromwel.

February or March 1532-3.

RIght worshipful, after my most harty recommendacion, it may plese you to understand that I have perceived by the relacion of my sonne *Rooper* (for which I beseche Almighty GOD reward you) your most charitable labour taken for me toward the Kinge's gracious highnes in the procuringe at his most gracious hande, the relief and comfort of this wofull heauines in which my hart standeth, neither for the losse of goodes, landes or libertie, nor of anye respect either, of this kinde of honesty that standeth in the opinion of people & worldly reputacion: al which maner of thinges (I thank our lord) I so little esteme for any affeccion therin toward my self, that I can wel be content to jubard lese and forgo them al & my lyfe therwith, without any ferther respite than euen this same present day, either for the pleasure of god or of my prince. But surely good maister *Cromwel* (as I by mouth declared vnto you some part, for all could I neyther than saye nor now write) it thoroughly parceth my pore hart, that the Kinges highnes (whose gracious fauour toward me farre aboue al the thinges of this worlde I have evermore desired, & wherof, both for the conscience of mine own true faithful hart and deuocion toward him, & for the manifold benefites of his high goodnes continually bestowed upon me, I thought my self alway sure) should conceue any

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such

ſuch opinion of me, as to think that in my communicacion, either with the nunne or the freres, or in my letter written unto the nunne, I had any other maner minde than might well ſtand with the duty of a tender louing ſubject towards hys natural prince: or that his grace ſhold recken in me any maner of obſtinate hart againſt his pleaſure, in any thinge that euer I ſaid or did concerning his gret mater of his mariage or concerning the primacy of the Pope. Neuer would I wiſhe other thing in this world more life than that his highnes in theſe thinges all thre, as parfitelly knew my dealing & as thorougly ſaw my mind, as I do my ſelfe, or as god doth himſelf, whoſe ſight paſſeth deper into my thoughte, than mine owne. For, Sir, as
1. for the firſt matter, that is to wytte my letter or communicacion (with the nunne) the whole diſcourſe whereof, in my former letter I haue as plainly declared vnto you as I poſſible can) ſo pray I god to withdraw that ſcruple & dout of my good minde out of the kinges noble breſt: and none otherwiſe, but as I not only thought none harme, but alſo purpoſed good: and in that thing moſt, in which (as I perceue) hys grace conceueth moſte greife & ſuſpicion, that is to witte in my letter which I wrote vnto her. And therfore, Sir, ſith I haue by writing declared the trouth of my dede, & am redy by mine othe to declare the trouth of mine entent. I can deuiſe no ferther thing by me to be done in the mater but onely beſeche almighty God to put into the kinges gracious minde, that as God knoweth the thing is in dede, ſo hys noble grace maye take it.
2. Nowe towching the *ſecond* point, concerning his graces great matter of his mariage, to thentent that you maye ſee cauſe wyth the better conſcience too make ſute vnto his highnes for me, I ſhall as playnely declare you my demeanure in

that

that matter, as I haue already declared you in the other, for more plainly I cannot.

Sir vpon a time at my ccmming from beyond the ſea, where I had bene in the kinges buſines, I repayred (as my duty was) vnto the kinges grace, being at that time at *Hampton* court. At which time ſodenly his highnes walking in the galery, brake with me of his great matter, & ſhewed me that it was now perceued, that his marriage was not onely againſt the poſitiue lawes of the church, & the written law of God, but alſo in ſuch wiſe againſt the lawe of nature, that it coulde in no wyſe by the churche be diſpenſable. Nowe ſo was it before my going ouer the ſea, I had hard certayn thynges moued againſt the bull of the diſpenſacion concerning the woordes in the law leuetycall, & the lawe deutronomicall, to proue the prohibition to be *De jure divino.* But yet perceued I not at that tyme, but that the greater hope of the matter, ſtode in certayne fawtes that were founden in the bull wherby the bul ſhould by the law not be ſufficient. And ſuche comfort was there in that point (as farre as I perceued) a good ſeaſon, that the counſayle on the tother part, were fayne to bring forth a brief, by which they pretended thoſe defawtes to be ſupplied; the trueth of whych brief was by the kynges counſayle ſuſpected, & much dilygence was there after done by the tryall of that point: wherin what was finally founden, eyther I neuer knewe, or elles I not remember. But I rehearſe you thys, too the entent you ſhall knowe that the firſte tyme that euer I hard that poynt moued, that it ſhoulde be in ſuche hyghe degree againſte the lawe of nature, was the tyme in which as I beganne to tell you, the kynges grace ſhewed it me hymſelfe, & layde the Byble open before me, & there redde me the woordes that moued his highnes & dyuers

other erudite perſons ſo to thynke, & asked me further what my ſelfe thought thereon. At whych tyme, not preſuming to looke that his highnes ſhoulde any thyng take that point for the more proued or improued, for my poore minde in ſo great a mater, I ſhewed neuertheleſſe (as my duety was at hys commaundement) what thyng I thought vpon the woordes which I there redde. Wher-vpon hys hyghnes acceptyng benignely my ſodaine vnaduiſed aunſwere, commaunded me to commune further wyth mayſter *Fox* nowe hys gracyous almoygner, & to reade wyth hym a booke that than was in makyng for that matter. After whych booke redde, & my pore oppinion eftſones declared vnto hys hyghnes thereupon, his highnes lyke a prudent & a verteouſe prynce aſſembled at a nother tyme at *Hampton* court, a good nombre of very well learned menne. At which tyme as farre as euer I harde, there were (as was in ſo greate a matter moſte lykely to be) dyuers oppinions amonge theim. Howbeit I neuer harde, but that they agreed at that time vpon a certayn forme in whych the booke ſhoulde be made, whych was afterwarde at *Yorke* place in my lorde Cardynalles chambre redde, in the prefence of dyuers biſhoppes & many learned men. And they all thought that there appeared in the booke, good & reaſonable cauſes, that myght well moue the kynges hyghneſſe beying ſo vertuouſe a prynce to conceue in hys mynde a ſcrupple agaynſts hys maryage: whyche while he coulde not otherwyſe auoyde, he dyd well & vertuouſely for the acquieting of his conſcience, to ſewe and procure to haue hys doubte decyded by judgement of the church. After thys, the ſute beganne & the legates ſate vppon the matter. During all which time I neuer meddled there, nor was a manne mete to do, for the mater was in hande by an ordynarye proces of

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the ſpyrytuall lawe, wherof I coulde lyttle skil. And yet while the legates wer ſitting vpon the mater, it pleſed the kinges highnes to ſend me in the company of mi lorde of *London*, now of *Du-reſme*, in embaſſiate aboute the peace, that at our being there was concluded at *Camerage*, betweene his highnes and the Emperour & the frenche kinge. And after my comming home, hys hyghnes of hys onelye goodnes (as farre vnworthy as I was thereto) made me as you well knowe hys Chauncellour of this relme. Sone after which time, hys grace moued me agayne yet eftſones, to loke & conſider his gret matter, & wel & indifferently to ponder ſuch thinges as I ſhold find therin. And if it ſo wer that therupon it ſhould hap me to ſe ſuch thinges as ſhoulde parſwade me to that part, he would gladly uſe me among other of his counſailours in that matter. And neuertheleſſe he graciouſly declared vnto me, that he would in no wiſe, that I ſhould other thing do or ſay therin, than vpon that that I ſhold perceiue mine own conſcience ſhould ſerue me, & that I ſhold firſt loke vnto god, & after god vnto him. Which moſte gracious words, was the firſt leſſon alſo that euer his grace gaue me at my firſt comming into his noble ſeruice. This mocion was to me very comfortable, & much I longed beſide ani thing that my ſelf either had ſene, or by ferther ſerche ſhould hap to finde for the tone part or the tother, yet ſpecially to haue ſome conferens in the matter, with ſome ſuch of his graces learned counſel, as moſt for his part had labored, & moſt had found in the mater. Wherupon his highnes aſſigned vnto me, the now moſt reuerent farthers Archbiſhoppes of *Canterbury* & *York*, with maiſter doctour *Fox* now his graces Almoigner & maiſter doctor *Nicholas* the *Italion* frere. Wherupon I not onely ſought & red & as far forth as

my pore witte & learning ſerued me, wel waied & conſidered euery ſuch thing as I could find my ſelf, or rede in any other mans labour that I could get, which any thing had written therin, but had alſo diligent conferens with his graces counſellers aforeſaide: whoſe honours & worſhips I nothing miſtruſt in this point, but that they both haue & will report vnto hys hyghnes, that they neuer found obſtinate maner or faſhion in me, but a minde as toward & as confirmable, as reſon could in a matter diſputable require. Wherupon the kinges highnes being farther aduertiſed both by them & by my ſelf, of my pore oppinion in the matter, (wherin to haue bene able or mete to do him ſeruice, I wold as I than ſhewed his highnes, haue ben more glad, than of al ſuch worldly commodities, as I either than had, or euer ſhold come to) his highnes graciouſly taking in gre my good mind in that behalf, vſed of his bleſſed diſpoſicion in the perſecuting of his gret matter, only thoſe (of whom his grace had good nombre) whoſe conſciens his grace perceyueth, wel & fully perſwadeth vpon that part. And as well me as any other to whom hys highnes thought the thing to ſeme otherwiſe, he vſed in his other buſines: abiding of his aboundant goodnes neuertheleſſe gracious lord vnto euery man, nor neuer was willing to put any man in ruffle or trouble of his conſcience. After this did I neuer nothing more therein nor neuer anye worde wrote I therein to thempairing of his graces part, neither before nor after: but ſetling my minde in quiet to ſerue his grace in other thinges, I would not ſo much as loke nor let lye by me any boke of the tother part, albeit that I gladly red afterward diuers bokes that were made on his part. Nor neuer would I rede the boke that maiſter *Abel* made on the tother ſide, nor other bokes which wer (as I

hard

hard say) made in latten beyonde the sea, nor neuer gaue eare to the popes proceding in the mater. Moreouer where I had found in my study, a booke that I had before borowedde of my lord of *Bathe*, which boke he had made of the matter at such time as the legates sate here threreupon, which boke had ben by me neglegently cast aside, & that I shewed him I wold sende him home his boke againe, he told me that in good faith he had longe time before discharged hys minde of the matter, & hauing forgotten that coppy to remaine in my hand, had burned his own copy that he had therof at home: and because he no more minded to meddle any thing in the matter, he desired me to burn the same boke to. And vpon my faith so did I. Besides this, dyuers other ways haue I so vsed my self, that if I rehersed them al, it should wel apere that I never haue had against his graces mariage any maner demenure wherby his highnes might have ani maner cause or occasion of displesure toward me. For likewise as I am not he which either can, or whom it could become to take vpon me the determinacion or decision of such a weighty matter, wherof diuers pointes a gret way passe my lerning, so am I he, that among other his graces faithful subjects, his highnes being in possession of his mariage, will most hartely pray for the prosperous estate of his grace, longe to continue to the pleasure of god. As touching the *thirde* point, the 3.
primacy of the pope, I nothing meddle in the mater. Trouth it is, as I told you, when ye desired me to shew you what I thought therin, I was my self sometime not of the minde that the primacy of that se, should be begun by thinstitucion of god, vntil that I red in that mater those thinges that the kinges highnes had written in his most famous boke against the heresies of *Martine*

Luther. At the firſt reding wherof, I moued the kinges highnes, either to leaue out that point, or els to touch it more ſlenderly, for dout of ſuch thinges as after might hap to fal in queſtion betweene his highnes & ſome pope, as betweene princes & popes diuers times haue done. Wherunto his highnes aunſwered me, that he would in no wiſe any thing miniſhe of that matter, of which thing his highnes ſhewed me a ſecret cauſe, whereof I neuer had any thing herd before. But ſurely after that I had red his graces boke therein, & ſo many other thinges as I haue ſene in that point by this continuance of this vii. yeres ſins & more, I haue founden, in effect the ſubſtans of al that holy doctours fro ſaint *Iguatius* diſciple of ſainct *Johu* the euangeliſt vnto our owne daies both latins & grekes, ſo conſonant & agreing in that point, and the thing by ſuch general counſailes ſo confirmed alſo, that in good faith I neuer neither red nor hard any thing of ſuch effect on the tother ſide, that euer could lead me to think that my conſcience wer well diſcharged, but rather in right gret perill, if I ſhoulde follow the tother ſide & deny the primacy to be prouided bi god. Which if we did, yet can I nothing (as I ſhewed you) parceiue any commodite that euer could come by that denial. For that the primacy is at the leaſt wiſe inſtituted by the corps of Chriſtendome, & for a gret urgent cauſe in auoiding of ſciſmis, & corroborate by continual ſucceſſion more than the ſpace of a thouſande yere at the leſt (for there are paſſed almoſt a thouſand yeres ſith the time of holy ſaint *Gregory.*) And therefore ſith al criſtendome is one 'corps, I cannot perceiue how any membre therof, may withoute the comon aſſent of the body, depart from the comon hedde. And than if we maye not lawfully leue it by our ſelf, I cannot perceiue

ceiue but if the thing wer a treating in a generall counſail, what the queſtion could auaile, whither the primacy wer inſtituted immediately by god, or ordeined by the churche. As for the generall counſails aſſembled lawfully, I neuer could perceiue but that in the declaracion of the truth, it is to be beleued & to be ſtanden to, the auctoritie wherof ought to be taken for vndoutable. Or els were there in nothing no certeintie, but thorough criſtendome vpon euery mans affectionate reaſonal thinge might be brought fro day to day into continuall ruſle & confuſion. From which by the general counſailes, the ſpirite of god aſſiſting euery ſuch counſell wel aſſemblid, kepeth & euer ſhall kepe the corps of his catholick church. And verely ſith the kinges highnes hath (as by the boke of his honorable counſaile appeareth) appeled to the general counſaile from the Pope, in which counſaile I beſeche our lord ſende his grace comfortable ſpede, me thinketh in my pore minde it coulde be no furtherance thereunto his graces cauſe, if his highnes ſhould in his own realme before, either by lawes making or bokes putting forth, ſeme to derogate & deny, not onely the primacye of the ſee apoſtolike, but alſo the auctorite of the general counſales to. Which I verely truſte his highnes intendeth not. For in the next general counſail it may well happen, that this pope may be depoſed & another ſubſtitute in his rome, with whom the kinges highnes may be very wel content. For albeit that I haue for mine own part ſuch opinion of the popes primacie as I haue ſhewed you, yet neuer thought I the pope aboue the general counſaile, nor neuer haue in anye boke of mine, put forth among the kinges ſubjects in our vulgare tonge, auaunced gretly the Popes auctorite. For albeit that a man maye peraduenture finde therin, that

after the comen maner of al criſten realmes, I ſpeke of him as primate, yet neuer do I ſtick theron with reſoning & prouing of that point. And in mi booke againſt the *Masker*, I wrote not I wote wel v. times & yet of no mo but only ſaint *Peter* himſelf, from whoſe perſon many take not the primacy, euen of thoſe that graunt it none of his ſucceſſours. And yet was that boke made, printed, & put forth of very trouth, before that any of the bokes of the counſaile was either printed or ſpoken of. But wheras I had written therof at length in my confutacion before, & for the proofe thereof had compiled together all that I coulde finde therefore, at ſuch times as I little loked that there ſhould fall betwcne the kinges highnes & the pope, ſuch a breche as is fallen ſins, whan I after that ſawe the thinge likely to draw toward ſuch diſpleaſure betwene them, I ſuppreſſid it vtterlv, & neuer put worde therof into my booke, but put out the remenant without it. Which thing well declared, that I neuer entended any thing to medel in that mater againſt the kinges gracious pleſure, whatſoeuer mine owne oppinion were therein. And thus haue I good maiſter *Cromwel*, long troubled your maiſterſhip, with a long proces of theſe matters with which I neither durſte, nor coulde it become me, to encomber the kinges noble grace. But I beſeche you for our lordes loue, that ye be not ſo wery of my moſt comberouſe ſute, but that it may like you at ſuch opportune tyme, or times as your wiſedome may finde, to help that his highnes may by your goodnes, be fully enformed of my true faithful minde, that he may the rather by the meanes of your wiſedome, & dexterite conſider that in the mater of the nonne, there was neuer on my parte any other minde than good: nor yet in any other thing elles, neuer was there, nor

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neuer ſhall there be, any further faute founde in me, than that I cannot in euery thing thinke the the ſame way that ſome other men of more wiſedome, & deper learning do: nor can finde in mine hart otherwiſe to ſay, than as mine owne conſcience gyueth me. Which condicion hath neuer growne in any thing that might touch his gracious pleaſure, of any obſtinate minde or miſſe affectionate appetite, but of a timerouſe conſcience, riſing happely for lakke of better parceyuing, & yet not without tender reſpects vnto my moſt bounden duty towardes his noble grace: Whoſe only fauour I ſo muche eſteme, that I nothing haue of mine owne in al this worlde except only my ſoule, but that I will with better wyll forgo it, than abyde of hys highnes one heauye diſpleaſant loke. And thus I make an ende of my long troubelous proces, beſeching the bleſſed trinite for that great goodnes ye ſhewed me, & the gret comfort ye doe me, bothe bodely & ghoſtely, to proſper you & in heauen rewarde you.

N° V.

Sir Thomas More's *Letter to his daughter Mrs.* Margaret Rooper *on his firſt being made Priſoner in the Tower of* LONDON, *on* Fryday *the* 17th *day of* April, 1534.

WHen I was before the lordes at *Lambeth*, I was the firſt that was called in, albeit that maiſter doctour the vicar of *Croidon* was come before

before me, & divers other. After the cauſe of my ſending for, declared unto me, (whereof I ſomewhat meruailed in my mind, conſidering that they ſent for no mo temporall men but me) I deſired the ſight of the othe, which they ſhewed me under the great ſeale. Than deſired I the ſight of the act of the ſucceſſion, which was deliuered me in a printed rol. After which redde ſecretly by my ſelf, and the othe conſidred with the acte, I ſhewed unto them, that my purpoſe was not to put any faute, either in the act or any man that made it, or in the othe or any man that ſware it, nor to condempne the conſcience of any other man. But as for my ſelf in good fayth my conſcience ſo moued me in the matter, that though I would not deny to ſwere to the ſucceſſion, yet unto that othe that there was offered me, I could not ſwere without the jubarding of my ſoule to perpetual dampnacion. And that if they doubted whither I did refuſe the othe onely for the grudge of my conſcience, or for any other fantaſy, I was ready therein to ſatisfy them be myne oth. Which if they truſted not, what ſhould they be the better to give me any othe. And if they truſted that I would therein ſwere true, than truſted I that of their goodnes they would not moue me to ſwere the othe that they offred me, perceiving that for to ſwere it, was againſt my conſcience. Unto this my lord chaunceller ſaide, that they all were verye ſorye to here me ſaye thus, and ſe me thus refuſe the othe. And they ſayde all, that on theyre faythe I was the very fyrſt that ever refuſed it: which would cauſe the kinges highnes to conceue great ſuſpicion of me & great indignacion toward me. And therwith they ſhewed me the roll, and let me ſe the names of the lordes & the commons which had ſworne & ſubſcribed their names alredy. Which notwithſtanding when they

they ſaw that I refuſed to ſwere the ſame my ſe*lf*, not blaming any other man that had ſworne, I was in concluſion commanded to goe downe into the gardein. And thereupon I taried in the olde burned chambre that loketh into the gardein, and would not goe downe becauſe of the heate. In that time ſaw I mayſter doctour *Latemer* come into the gardein, & there walked he with diuers other doctours & chapleins of my lorde of *Canterburye*. And very mery I ſaw him, for he laughed, & toke one or twaine aboute the nekke ſo handſomely, that if they had ben women, I would have went he had ben waxen wanton. After that came maiſter doctour *Wilſon* forth from the lordes, and was with twoo gentilmen brought by me, and gentilmanly ſent ſtreight unto the towre. What time my lord of *Rocheſter* was called in before theim, that can I not tell. But at night I hard that he had ben before them, but where he remained that night, and ſo forthe till he was ſent hither, I neuer hard. I hard alſo that maiſter vicare of *Croydon*, and all the remenant of the prieſtes of *London* that were ſent for, wer ſworne: and that they had ſuch fauour at the counſels hande, that they were not lingered, nor made to dance any long attendance to their trauaile & coſt, as ſutours were ſometime wont to be, but were ſpedde a pace to their gret comfort: ſo farre forth that maiſter vicar of *Croidon*, either for gladnes or for drines, or els that it might be ſene, *Quod ille notus erat pontifici*, went to my lordes buttry barre, & called for drinke, & dranke *valde familiariter*. When they had played their pageant, & were gone out of the place, than was I called in againe. And than was it declared unto me, what a nomber had ſworne euer ſins I went aſide gladly without any ſticking. Wherein I laid no blame in no man, but for my own

ſelf anſwered as before. Now as well before as than, they ſomewhat laide unto me for obſtinacye, that whereas before, ſith I refuſed to ſwere, I woulde not declare any ſpeciall part of that othe that grudged my conſcience, and open the cauſe wherefore. For thereunto I had ſaid unto them, that I fearid leaſt the kinges highnes would as they ſayde, take diſpleaſure inough toward me for the only refuſel of the othe. And that if I ſhould open & diſcloſe the cauſes why, I ſhould therwith but further exaſperate hys highnes, which I woulde in no whiſe do, but rather wold I abyde all the daunger & harme that might come toward me, than gyve hys highnes any occaſion of further diſpleaſure, than the offring the othe unto me of pure neceſſitie conſtrained me. Howbeit when they diuers times imputed this to me for ſtubberneſs & obſtinacy, that I would neither ſwere the othe, nor yet declare the cauſes why, I declined thus farre toward them, that rather than I would be accompted for obſtinate, I wold upon the kinges gracious licens, or rather his ſuch commandement had, as might be my ſufficient warrant, that my declaracion ſhould not offend his highnes, nor put me in the daunger of anye of hys ſtatutes, I woulde be content to declare the cauſes in writing, & ouer that to giue an othe in the beginning that if I might find thoſe cauſes by any man in ſuch wiſe anſwered, as I might thinke mine own conſcience ſatisfied, I would after that with all mine hart ſwere the principal othe to. To this I was anſwered, that thoughe the kinge woulde giue me licens under his letters patent, yet wold it not ſerue againſt the ſtatute. Wherto I ſaid, that yet if I had them, I wold ſtand to the truſt of his honour at my parel for the remenaunt. But yet thinketh me loe, that if I maye not declare the cauſes without periil, than

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to leaue them undeclared is no obſtinacye. My lord of *Canterbury* taking hold upon that that I ſaide, that I condempned not the conſciences of them that ſware, ſaid unto me that it apered well, that I did not take it for a very ſure thing & a certaine, that I might not lawfullye ſwer it, but rather as a thing uncertain & doubtfull. But than (ſaid my lorde) you knowe for a certenty & a thynge without dout, that you be bounden to obey your ſouerain lorde your king. And therefore are ye bounden to leaue of the dout of your unſure conſciens in refuſingthe othe, & take the ſure waye in obeiying of your prince, & ſwere it. Now all was it ſo, that in mine own mind me thought my ſelf not concluded, yet this argument ſemed me ſodenly ſo ſuttle, & namely with ſuch authorite coming out of ſo noble a prelates mouth, that I could againe aunſwere nothing thereto but only that I thought my ſelf I might not well do ſo, becauſe that in my conſciens this was one of the caſes, in which I was bounden that I ſhoulde not obey my prince, ſyth that whatſoeuer other folke thought in the matter (whoſe conſciens or learning I wold not condemnpe nor take uppon me to judge) Yet in my conſciens the trouth ſemed on the other ſide. Wherin I had not informed my conſciens neither ſodenly nor ſleightlye, but by long leiſour & diligent ſearche for the matter. And of trouth if that reaſon may conclude, than haue we a readye way to auoide all parplexities. For in whatſoeuer matter the doctours ſtand in gret dout, the kinges commandement giuen upon whither ſide he liſt, ſoyleth all the doutes. Than ſaid my Lotd of *Weſtminſter* to me, that how ſoeuer the matter ſemed unto mine owne minde, I had cauſe to fere that mine owne minde was erroniouſe, when I ſe the gret counſail of the realme determine of my mind the contrary, & that therefore,

fore, I ought to change my conſciens. To that I aunſwered, that if there were no mo but my ſelfe upon my ſide, and the whole parlement upon the tother, I woulde be ſore afraide to leane to mine own minde only againſt ſo many. But on the other ſide, if it ſo be that in ſome thinges for which I refuſe the othe, I haue as I think I haue upon my part as great a counſail & a greater to, I am not than bounden to change my conſciens, & conforme it to the counſail of one realme, againſt the general counſaile of Chriſtendome. Upon this maiſter Secretary as he that tenderly fauoureth me, ſaide & ſware a gret othe, that he had leuer that his own onely ſonne (which is of trouth a goodly young gentilman, & ſhall I truſt come to much worſhip) had loſt his hedde than that I ſhould thus haue refuſed the oth. For ſurely the kinges highnes woulde now conceiue a great Suſpicion againſt me, & think that the matter of the nonne of *Canterburye*, was all contriued by my drift. To which I ſaide that the contrary was true & well known. And whatſoeuer ſhould miſhappe me, it laye not in my power to helpe it without the perill of my ſoule. Than did my Lorde chauncellour repete before me my refuſell unto maiſter Secretarye, as to hym that was going unto the kinges grace. And in reherſing, his lordſhip repeted again, that I denied not but was content to ſwere unto the ſucceſſion. Wherunto I ſayde, that as for that pointe I woulde be content, ſo that I might ſe my othe in that pointe ſo framyd in ſuche a manner as might ſtand with my conſciens. Than ſaid my lord: Mary maiſter Secretary marke that to, that he will not ſwere that neyther, but under ſome certaine maner. Verely no my Lorde quoth I, but that I wyll ſee it made in ſuche wyſe fyrſt, as I ſhal my ſelfe ſe, that I ſhall neyther be forſworne, nor ſware againſte my conſcience. Surely

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as to ſwere to the ſucceſſion I ſee no perill. But I thought & thinke it reaſon that to mine owne othe I looke well my ſelfe, & be of counſayle alſo in the faſhion, & neuer entended to ſwere for a pece, & ſet my hand to the whole othe. Howbeit as helpe me God, as towching the whole othe I neuer withdrewe any man from it, nor neuer aduiſed any to refuſe it, nor neuer put nor wil put any ſcruple in anye mannes hedde, but leaue euerye man to hys owne conſcience. And me thynketh in good faith that ſo were it good reaſon that every man ſhoulde leaue me to myne.

N° V.

Another Letter of Sir Thomas More *to his daughter Mrs.* Margaret Roper, *written with a cole.*

MYne owne good daughter, our lorde bethanked I am in good helthe of bodye, & in good quiet of minde: & of worldly thynges I no more deſyer then I haue. I beſeche hym make you all mery in the hope of heauen. And ſuch thynges as I ſomewhat longed to talke with you all, concerning the worlde to come, our Lorde put them into your myndes, as I truſte he dothe & better to by hys holy ſpirite: who bleſſe you & preſerue you all. Written wyth a cole by your tender louing father, who in hys pore prayers forgetteth none of you all, nor your babes, nor your nurſes, nor your good husbandes, nor your good husbandes ſhrewde wyues, nor your fathers ſhrewde wyfe neither,

ther, nor our other frendes. And thus fare ye hartely well for lacke of paper.

Thomas More knight.

N° VII.

A third Letter of Sir Thomas More's *to his daughter Mrs.* Margaret Roper *in anſwer to a Letter of hir's to him perſuading him to take the Oath of Succeſſion.*

Our lord bliſſe you.

IF I had not ben my derely beloued daughter at a firme & faſt point, I truſte in goddes greate mercy this good great while before, your lamentable letter had not a little abaſhed me, ſurely farre aboue al other thynges, of which I heare diuers times not a fewe terrible towarde me. But ſurely they all touched neuer ſo nere, nor were ſo greuous unto me, as to ſe you my well beloued childe, in ſuch vehement piteous maner, labour to parſwade unto me, the thing wherin I haue of pure neceſſitie for reſpect unto myne owne ſoule, ſo often given you ſo preciſe aunſwere before. Wherein as touching the pointes of your letter, I can make none aunſwere. For I dout not but you well remembre, that the matters which moue my conſcience, (without declaracion whereof I can nothing touche the pointes) I haue ſondry times ſhewed you that I will diſcloſe

cloſe theim to no man. And therfore daughter *Margaret*, I can in this thing no further, but like as you labour me againe to folow your mind, to deſire & praye you both againe, to leaue of ſuch labour, and with my former anſweres to holde your ſelfe content. A deadly grief unto me, & much more deadly than to here of mine own death. (For the fere therof, I thanke our lorde, the fere of hell, the hope of heaven, & the paſſion of Chriſt dailye more & more aſwage) is, that I perceive my good ſonne your husband, & you my good daughter, & my good wife, & mine other good children & innocent frendes, in gret dyſpleaſure & daunger of great harme thereby. The let whereof while it lyeth not in my hand, I can no further but commit all to God. *Nam in manu dei*, (ſaieth the Scripture) *cor regis eſt, & ſicut diuiſiones aquarum quocunque voluerit impellit illud.* Whoſe hyghe goodnes I moſt humbly beſech to enclyne the noble hart of the kinges highnes to the tender fauour of you al, & to fauour me no better than God & my ſelf know that my faithfull hart toward hym & my daily prayour for him, do deſerue. For ſurely if his highnes might inwardly ſe my true minde ſuche as God knoweth it is, it wold (I truſt) ſone aſwage his high diſpleſure. Which while I can in this world neuer in ſuch wiſe ſhew, but that his grace may be parſwaded to beleue the contrary of me, I can no further go, but put all in the handes of him for fere of whoſe diſpleaſure for the ſauegard of my ſoule ſtirred by mine owne conſcience, (without inſectacion or reproche laieing to any other mans) I ſuffer & endure thys trouble. Out of which I beſeche him to bring me, when his wil ſhal be, into his endles bliſſe of heaven, & in the mean while, giue me grace & you both in al our agonies & troubles, deuoutly to reſorte

proſtrate unto the remembrance of that bitter agonye, which our ſauiour ſuffered before his paſſion at the Mount. And if we diligently ſo do, I verely truſt we ſhal find therein great comfort & conſolacion. And thus my dere daughter the bleſſed ſpirite of Chriſte for his tender mercy gouerne & guide you all, to his pleaſure & your weale & comfortes both body & ſoule,

Your tender loving Father

Thomas More, *knight.*

N° VIII.

To this laſt Letter maiſtres Margaret Rooper *wrote an anſwer and ſent it to Sir* Thomas More *her father, the copye wherof here followeth.*

MYne owne deare father ; it is to me no little comfort, ſith I cannot not talk with you by ſuch means as I would, at the leaſt way to delight my ſelfe among in this bytter time of your abſens, by ſuch meanes a I maye, by as often writing to you, as ſhal be expedient, & by reading again & againe your moſt fruitfull & delectable letter, the faithfull meſſenger of your very verteous & ghoſly minde, rid from all corrupt loue of worldely thinges, and faſt knitte onely in the loue of god, & deſire of heauen, as becommeth a very true worſhipper, & a faithfull ſeruant of

god,

god, which I doute not good father holdeth his holy hand ouer you, & ſhall (as he hath) preſerue you both body & ſoule (*vt ſit mens ſana in corpore ſano*) and namely, nowe when you haue abjected all earthly conſolacions, & reſined your ſelfe willingly gladly & fully for hys loue to his holy proteccion. Farther what thinke you hath bene our comfort ſyns your departing from us? Surely the experiens we haue had of your life paſt & godly conuerſacion & wholeſome counſail, & vertuous example, & a ſurety not onely of the continuance of that ſame, but alſo a grete encreſe by the goodnes of our lorde to the great reſte & gladnes of your hart, deuoide of al earthly dregges & garniſhed wyth the noble veſture of heauenly vertues, a pleaſant palles for the holy ſpirite of God to reſt in, who defende you, (as I doute not good father but of his goodnes he wyll) from all trouble of minde & of body & gyue me your moſte louing obedient daughter & handmaide, & all vs your children & frendes, to folow that that we praiſe in you, & to our onely comforte remembre & comin together of you, that we may in concluſion mete with you mine owne dere father in the blyſſe of heauen to which our moſt mercifull lorde hath bought us with his precious blood.

Your owne moſt loving obedient daughter and bedeſwoman *Margaret Roper*, which deſireth above al worldly thinges to be in *John* a *Woode's* ſtede to do you ſome ſervice. But we live in hope that we ſhal ſhortly receve you againe. I pray god hartely we may, if it be his holy wil.

N° IX.

A Letter written and ſent by Sir Thomas More *to his daughter Mayſtres* Rooper *written the* ſecond *or* third *day of* May *in the Yere of our Lord* 1535. *& in the* 27 *Yere of the raygne of Kynge* Henry *the* 8.

Our Lorde bliſſe you.

MY derely beloved daughter, I doubt not but by the reaſon of the kynge's counſellors reſortyng hither in thys tyme in which (our Lorde be theyr comfort) theſe fathers of the charter-houſe and maſter *Reynolds* of *Sion* be now judged to death for treaſon (whoſe matters and cauſes I know not) may happen to put you in trouble and feare of mind concerning me being here priſoner, ſpeciallye for that it is not unlikely that you have harde that I was broughte alſo before the counſaile here my ſelfe, I have thought it neceſſary to advertiſe you of the verye trouthe, to thende that you ſhoulde neyther conceyve more hope than the matter geveth, leſt uppon another torne it might agreve your heavineſſe: nor more grief and feare than the matter geveth on the tother fyde. Wherefore ſhortly ye ſhall underſtand that on the *Frydaye* the laſte daye of *Aprill* in the afternone maſter Levetenaunt came in here vnto me, & ſhewed me that maſter Secretarye woulde ſpeake with

with me, Whereuppon I ſhyſted my gown, & wente out with maſter Leuetenante into the galery to hym, where I mette manye, ſome knowen & ſome vnknowne in the waye. And in concluſion commyng into the chamber where hys maſterſhippe ſat, wyth maſter Attorney, maſter Soliciter, maſter *Bedyll* & maſter doctor *Tregonwell*, I was offered to ſitte downe with them, whiche in no wyſe I woulde. Whereupon maſter Secretary ſhewed vnto me, that he doubted not, but that I had by ſuche frendes as hyther had reſorted to me, ſene the newe ſtatutes made at the laſte ſittyng of the parlement. Wherunto I aunſwered: ye verely. Howe be it for as much as being here, I haue no conuerſacion with any people, I thought it lytle nede for me to beſtowe muche tyme vppon theym, & therefore I redeleuered the boke ſhortly, & theffect of the ſtatutes I neuer marked nor ſtudyed to putte in remembraunce. Then he asked me whyther I hadde not redde the *fyrſte* ſtatute of them, of the kynge beyng hedde of the churche. Whereunto I aunſwerde, yes. Than his maſterſhip declared vnto me, that ſythe it was nowe by acte of parlemente ordeyned, that his highnes & his heyres be, & ever of right haue bene, & parpetuallye ſhould be, ſupreme head in the earth of the churche of *Englande* vnder Chriſt, the kinges pleaſure was, that thoſe of his counſayle there aſſembled, ſhould demaunde my oppinion, & what my mynd was therein. Whereunto I aunſwered, that in good fayth I hadde truſted, that the kynges hyghneſſe would neuer haue commaunded anye ſuche queſtion to be demaunded of me, conſideryng that I euer from the beginning, well & truelye from tyme to tyme declared my mynde vnto his highneſſe: & ſince that time (I ſayd) vnto youre maſterſhippe maſter Secretary alſo, bothe by mouth & by wrytyng. And now I haue in

good faith diſcharged my minde of all ſuche matters, & neither wyll diſpute kynges titles nor popes : but the kinges true faithfull ſubject I am, & will be, & dayly I praye for him, & al his, & for you al that are of his honorable counſaile, & for al the realm. And otherwyſe than this, I neuer entende to medle. Whereunto maſter Secretarye anſwered, that he thoughte this maner of anſwere ſhould not ſatisfy nor content the kinges highnes, but that hys grace would exact a more full anſwere. And his maſterſhip added therunto, that the kinges highnes was a prince, not of rygour but of mercy & pitie. And thoughe that he had found obſtinacy at ſome tyme in any of his ſubjects, yet when he ſhold fynde them at an other tyme confyrmable & ſubmitte them ſelfe, his grace woulde ſhewe mercye: & that concernyng my ſelfe, his highneſſe would be gladde to ſee me take ſuch conformable wayes, as I myghte be abrode in the worlde agayne among other menne, as I haue bene before. Whereunto I ſhortly (after the inwarde affeccion of my minde) anſwerd for a very trouth, that I woulde neuer medle in the worlde agayn, to haue the world geuen me. And to the remenaunt of the matter, I aunſwerd in effect as before, ſhewyng that I had fullye determined with my ſelfe, neyther to ſtudy nor medle with anye matter of this world, but that my whole ſtudy ſhould be, vpon the paſſion of Chriſt, & mine own paſſage out of this worlde. Vppon which I was commaunded to goo forth for a while, & after called in again. At which time maſter Secretarye ſayd vnto me, that though I was a priſoner condemned to perpetual priſon, yet I was not thereby diſcharged of myne obedyence & allegiance vnto the kynges hyghnes. And therupon demaunded me, whither that I thought, that the kynges grace might not exact of me ſuch thinges

thinges as are conteined in the Statutes, & vpon lyke paines as he might vppon other men. Wherto I aunſwered that I would not ſay the contrarye. Wherunto he ſayde, that lykewyſe as the kinges hygneſſe would be gracious to them he found conformable, ſo his grace woulde folowe the courſe of hys lawes towarde ſuche as he ſhall fynde obſtinate. And his maſterſhip ſaid farther, that my demeanour in that matter was a thing, that of likelyhode made other ſo ſtiffe therin as they be. Wherto I aunſwerde, that I geue no manne occaſion to hold any poynt one or other, nor neuer gaue anye manne aduiſe or counſayle therin one way or other. And for concluſion I coulde no farther go, whatſoeuer payne ſhould come therof. I am (quod I) the kinges true faythful ſubjecte, & daily bedeſman & praye for his highneſſe & all his & all the realme. I doo no body no harme, I ſay none harme, I think none harme, but wiſhe euerye bodye good. And yf this be not ynouth to kepe a manne alyue, in good fayth I longe not to lyue. And I am dyinge all readye, & haue ſynce I came here, bene diuers tymes in the caſe that I thoughte to dye within one howre. And I thanke oure Lorde I was neuer ſorye for it, but rather ſorye when I ſawe the pange paſte. And therefore my poore bodye is at the kynges pleaſure. Woulde God my death might doo hym good. After this maſter Secretarye ſaide; well ye fynde no faulte in that ſtatute: finde you anye in any of the other ſtatutes after? Wherto I aunſwerd, Sir, whatſoeuer thynge ſhould ſeme to me other than good, in anye of the other ſtatutes or in that ſtatute either, I woulde not declare what fault I found, nor ſpeak therof. Whervnto finally his maſterſhip ſaid ful gentily, that of anye thyng that I had ſpoken there ſhould no auauntage be taken. And whether he ſayde

farther that there was none to be taken, I am not well remembred. But he ſaide that reporte ſhould bee made vnto the kinges highnes, & hys gracious pleaſure knowen. Wheruppon I was deliuered agayne to maſter Leuetenaunt, whiche was then called in. And ſo was I by maſter Leuetenaunt brought agayn into my chamber. And here am I yet in ſuch caſe as I was, neyther better nor worſe. That that ſhall folowe lyeth *in* the hande of God, whom I beſeche to put in the kynges graces mynde, that thing that may be to his high pleaſure, & in mine, to minde onely the weale of my ſoule, with litle regard of my body, & you with al yours, & my wyfe, & al my children, & all oure other frendes, both bodily & ghoſtly hartely well to fare. And I pray you & them all pray for me, and take no thought whatſoever ſhall happen me. For I verely truſt *in* the goodnes of god, ſeme it neuer ſo eyil to this worlde, it ſhall indede in another world be for the beſt.

Your louing father

Thomas More knyghte.

N° X.

p. 1452 Col. 2. *Another letter written & ſent by Syr* Thomas More *to his daughter maiſtres* Rooper, *written in the yeare of our lord* 1535. *& in the* 27 *yeare of the raygne of king* Henry *the* 8.

Oure Lorde bleſſe you & all yours.

FOraſmuche (dearly beloued daughter) as it is likeli, that you eyther hath hard, or ſhortlye ſhall here, that the counſayle were here thys day,

day, & that I was before theym, I haue thoughte it neceſſarye to ſende you woorde howe the matter ſtandeth. And verely to bee ſhort, I parceue little difference betwene this time & the laſt. For as farre as I can ſee, the whole purpoſe is, eyther too dryue me to ſay preciſely the tone way, or elles preciſely the tother. Here ſate my lord of *Canterbury*, my lord chauncellour, my lord of *Suffolke*, my lord of *Wilſhyre*, & maiſter Secretarye. And after my coming, maiſter Secretarye made rehearsll in what wyſe he had reported vnto the kynges hyghnes, what had been ſayd by hys graces counſayle to me, & what had ben aunſwered by me to them, at myne other being before them here laſt. Which thyng his maiſterſhip rehearſed in good fayth verye wel, as I knowledged & confeſſed & hertely thanked him therfore. Wherupon he added therunto, that the kinges highnes was nothing content nor ſatisfyed with myne aunſwer, but thought that by my demeanor, I had been occaſion of much grudge & harme in the realme, & that I had an obſtinate mind & an euill towarde him, & that my duety was being hys ſubject (& ſo he had ſent them now in hys name vpon myne allegiaunce to commaunde me) to make a playne & a terminate aunſwere, whether I thoughte the ſtatute lawfull or not. And that I ſhold either knowledge & confeſſe it lawfull, that his highnes ſhoulde be ſupreme heade of the churche of *Englande*, or elles vtter playnly my malignitie. Wherto I aunſwered, that I had no malignitie, & therfore I could none vtter. And as to the matter I coulde none other aunſwer make, than I had before made, whiche aunſwere his maiſterſhip had there rehearſed. Very heauy I was that the kinges highnes ſhouldlye haue any ſuch opinion of me. Howbeit if ther were one that had enformed his highnes, manye euill thinges

of

of me that were vntrue, to whiche hys highnes for the time gave credence I wold be very ſory that he ſhould haue that opinion of me the ſpace of one day. Howbeit if I wer ſure that other ſhold come on the morowe, by whom his grace ſhould know the trouth of myne innocenſy, I ſhould in the mean whyle comfort my ſelf with conſideracion of that. And in lykewiſe nowe, though it be great heavines to me, that his highnes hathe ſuche opinion of me for the whyle, yet haue I no remedy to helpe it, but only to comfort my ſelf with this conſideracion, that I know very well that the tyme ſhall come, when God ſhall decleare my trueth toward his grace, before hym & all the worlde. And whereas it myghte happely ſeeme to be but ſmall cauſe of coumfort, becauſe I might take harme here fyrſte in the meane whyle, I thanked God that my caſe was ſuch here in this matter, thorowe the cleareneſſe of myne owne conſcience, that though I myght haue payne, I coulde not haue harme. For a man maye in ſuch a caſe leſe his head & haue none harm. For I was very ſure, that I had no corrupt affection, but that I had alway fro the begynning truely vſed my ſelf, lookyng fyrſt vpon god, & next vpon the king, accordinge to the leſſon that ‘ hys hyghnes tought me at my fyrſt ‘ cumming to his noble ſeruice, the moſt verte- ‘ ous leſſon that euer prince tought his ſervaunt,’ whoſe highnes to haue of me now ſuch opinion is my greate heauines. But I haue no meane as I ſaid to helpe it, but only coumfort my ſelf in the meane time with the hope of that joyful day, in which my trouthe towarde hym ſhall well be knowen. And in this matter further I could not goe, nor other aunſwer therto I coulde not make. To thys it was ſayd by my lord chauncellour & maſter ſecretary both, that the kyng might

by

by his lawes compell me to make a plain anſwer therto, either the tone way or the tother. Wherto I anſwered I woulde not diſpute the kynges authoritie, what his highes myght dooe in ſuch a caſe. But I ſayd that verely, vnder correction, it ſemed to me ſumwhat hard. For if it ſo wer that my conſcience gaue me agaynſte the ſtatute (wherein how my conſcience geueth me I make no declaracion) than I, nothing doing nor nothing ſaying agaynſt the ſtatute it wer a very hard thing, to compell me to ſay, either preciſely with it agaynſte my conſcience to the loſſe of my ſoule, or preciſely agaynſt it to the deſtruction of my body. To this maiſter Secretary ſaid, that I had ere this when I was chauncellour, examined heretikes & theues, & other malefactours, & gaue me a great priſe aboue my deſeruing in that behalf. And he ſayd that I than as he thought, & at the leaſt wiſe biſhops, did vſe to examine heretikes, whether they beleued the Pope to be head of the church, & vſed to compell them to mak a preciſe anſwer therto. And why ſhoulde not than the kynge, ſith it is a law made here that his grace is head of the churche here, compell men to aunſwer preciſely to the law here, as they dyd than concerning the Pope? I aunſwered & ſayde, that I proteſted that I entended not to defend my part, or ſtand in contencion. But I ſaid ther was a difference betwene thoſe two caſes, becauſe that at that tyme, as well here as elles where thorow the corps of chriſtendome, the popes power was recogniſed for an vndouted thing: which ſemeth not lyke a thyng agreed in this realme, & the contrary taken for trueth in other realmes. Wherto maiſter Secretarye aunſwered, that they were as well burned for the denying of that, as they be beheaded for the denying of this: & therefore as good reaſon to compell them

them to make preciſe aunſwere to the tone as to the tother. Wherto I aunſwered, that ſith in thys caſe a man is not by a law of one realme bound in hys conſcience, where there is a law of the whole corps of chriſtendome to the contrary in matters touching belieue, as he is by a law of the whole corps, though there happe to be made in ſome place a law locall to the contrary, the reaſonablenes or the vnreaſonablenes in hyndryng a man to precyſe aunſwere, ſtandeth not in the reſpect or difference betwene headdyng & burnyng, but becauſe of the difference in charge of conſcience, the difference ſtandeth betwene heading & hell. Much was there aunſwered vnto this, both by maiſter Secretary & my lorde chauncellour, ouer long to rehearſe. And in concluſion they offered me an othe, by whiche I ſholde be ſworne, to make true aunſwer to ſuch things, as ſhoulde be asked me on the kinges behalfe, concernynge the kynges owne perſone. Wherto I aunſwerd, ‘ that ‘ verely I neuer purpoſed to ſwere any boke othe ‘ more while I liued’. Than they ſayd that I was very obſtinate if I would refuſe that, for euerye man doth it in the ſtarre chaumber & euery where. I ſayd that was true: but I had not ſo little foreſighte, but that I might well conjecture what ſhoulde be parte of myne interrogatories; & as good it was to refuſe theim at the fyrſt as afterward. Wherto my lord chauncellour aunſwered, that he thoughte I geaſt trouth, for I ſhould ſee them. And ſo they wer ſhewed me, ‘ & they were but twayn: the fyrſt, whether I ‘ had ſene the ſtatute:’ the tother, ‘ whether I ‘ belieued it was a lawfull made ſtatute or not.’ Whervpon I refuſed the othe, & ſayd ferther by mouth, that the furſt I hadde before confeſſed: & to the *ſecond* I would make none aunſwer: which was the end of our communicacion, & I

was

was therupon ſent away. In the communicacion before, it was ſaid that it was meruayled, that I ſtake ſo much in my conſcience, whyle at the vttermoſt I was not ſure therin. Wherto I ſayd, that I was very ſure, that myne own conſcience ſo enformed as it is, by ſuche diligence as I haue ſo long taken therin, may ſtand with myne own ſaluacion. 'I medle not with the conſcience of 'them that thinke otherwiſe.' Euery man *ſuo damno ſtat aut cadit.* I am no mannes judge. It was alſo ſaid vnto me, that if I had as liefe bee out of the world as in it, as I had there ſayde, why did I not than ſpeake euen playn out agaynſt the ſtatute? It appeared well that I was not content to dye, thoug I ſayd ſo. Wherto I anſwered as the trouth is, that I haue not been a man of ſuch holy liuing, as I myght be bolde to offer my ſelf to death leſt God for my preſumpcion might ſuffer me to fall: & therfore I put not my ſelf forward but draw backe. Howbeit, if god draw me to it himſelf, than truſte I in hys greate mercy, that he ſhall not fayle to geue me grace & ſtrength. In concluſion maiſter Secretarye ſayde, that he lyked me this day much woorſe than he dydde the laſt tyme. For than he ſaid he pitied me muche, & now he thought I meante not well. But God & I knowe both, that I meane well, & ſo I praye God doo by me. I praye you be you & myne other good frendes of good chere whatſoeuer falle of me, & take no thought for me, but pray for me, as I doo and ſhall for you & all them.

Your tender louing father,

Thomas More, knight.

N° XI.

N° XI.

p. 1454. col. 2. *Syr* Thomas More *a litle before he was arraygned & condemned (in the yere of oure lord.* 1535. *& in the* xxvii. *yere of the raygn of kyng* Henry *the eight) being ſhit up ſo cloſe in priſon in the tower that he had no penne nor inke, wrote with a cole a piſtle in latine to maiſter* Anthony Bonuyſe *(marchant of* Luke *& than dwellyng in* London*) his olde & deare frende, & ſent it vnto hym, the copye whereof here foloweth.*

AMicorum amiciſſime & merito mihi chariſſime, ſalue. Quoniam mihi preſagit animus, (fortaſſe falſo, ſed preſagit tamen) haud diu mihi ſuperfuturam ad te ſcribendi facultatem, decreui dum licet, hoc ſaltem epiſtolio ſignificare, quantum in hoc fortunæ meæ diliquio, amicitiæ tuæ jucunditate reficiar. Nam ante quidem, vir ornatiſſime, tametſi mirifice certe ſemper amore iſto in me tuo delectatus ſum, tamen recordanti mihi annos jam prope quadraginta perpetuum *Bonuiſæ* domus non hoſpitem, ſed alumnum fuiſſe me, nec amicum interim vlla rependenda gratia, ſed ſterilem tantum amatorem preſtitiſſe, verecundia mea profecto fecerat, vt ſyncera illa ſuauitas, quam alioqui ex amicitiæ veſtræ cogitatione deglutiebam, paululum quiddam pudore quodam ruſtico, tanquam neglectæ viciſſitudinis ſubaceſſeret. Verum enimvero nunc hac me cogitatione conſolor, quod

bene

bene viciſſim mihi merendi de te, nunquam ſe præbebat occaſio. Ea ſiquidem amplitudo fortunæ tuæ fuit, vt commodandi tibi nullus mihi relinqueretur locus. Conſcius igitur mihi non officii neglectu vicem non rependiſſe me, ſed quia deficiebat occaſio, quum jam te conſpiciam, etiam ſublata rependendi ſpe, ſic in me amando & demerendo perſiſtere, immo adeo progredi potius, & curſu quodam indefeſſo procurrere, vt pauci ſic amicos fortunatos ambiant, quomodo tu proſtratum, abjectum, afflictum & adductum carceri, *Morum* tuum diligis, amas, foues & obſeruas, cum priſtini pudoris mei quali quali me amaricie abluo, tum in hujus admirabilis amicitiæ tuæ ſuauitate conquieſco. Et neſcio quo pacto tam fidelis amicitiæ proſperitas, videtur mihi cum hoc improſpero & claſſis meæ naufragio propemodum paria facere: certe tollatur indignatio non amati mihi minus quam metuendi principis, quod ad reliqua pertinet propemodum plus quam paria, quippe quum illa ſint inter fortunæ mala numeranda omnia. At amicitiæ tam conſtantis poſſeſſionem, quam tam aduerſus fortunæ caſus non eripuit, ſed ferruminauit fortius, amens profecto fuerim, inter caduca fortunæ bona ſi numerem. Sublimius haud dubie bonum eſt atq; anguſtius peculiari quadam dei benignitate proueniens, amicitiæ tam fidelis & reflante fotuna conſtantis, raro conceſſa felicitas. Ego certe non aliter accipio atq; interpretor quam eximia dei miſeratione curatum, vt inter tenues amiculos meos, tu vir talis, amicus tantus, jam longo ante tempore parareris, qui magnam iſtius moleſtiæ partem, quam mihi ruentis in me fortunæ moles inuexit, tua conſolatione lenires ac releuares. Ego igitur mi *Antoni* mortalium mihi omnium chariſſime (quod ſolum poſſum) Deum op. max. qui te mihi prouidit, obnixe deprecor, vt quando tibi talem debitorem dedit qui nunquam ſoluendo

do ſit futurus, beneficentiam iſtam quam mihi quotidie tam effuſus impendis ipſe tibi dignetur pro ſua benignitate rependere, tum vt nos ab hoc ærumnoſo & procelloſo ſeculo in ſuam requiem, pro ſua miſeratione perducat, vbi non erit opus epiſtolis, vbi non deſtinebit nos paries, ubi non arcebit a colloquio janitor, ſed cum Deo patre ingenito & vnigenito ejus filio, domino & redemptore noſtro *Jeſu Chriſto*, atq; vtriuſq; ſpiritu ab vtroq; procedente paracleto, gaudio perfruamur eterno. Cujus interea gaudii deſiderio faxit omnipotens deus, ut tibi, mi *Antoni*, mihiq; atq; vtinam mortalibus vndecunq; omnibus, omnes hujus orbis opes, vniuerſa mundi gloria, necnon iſtius quoq; dulcedo vitæ vileſcat. Amicorum omnium fidiſſime mihiq; dilectiſſime (& quod prædicare jam olim ſoleo) oculi mei pupilla, vale. Familiam tuam totam, herili in me affectui ſimillimam, Chriſtus ſeruet incolumem.

T. Morus fruſtra fecero
ſi adjiciam

tuus. Nam hoc jam neſcire non potes, quum tot beneficiis emeris. Nec ego nunc talis ſum vt referat cujus ſim.

N° XII.

N° XII.

Syr Thomas More *was behedded at the* p. 145. col. 2.
Towre-hill in London *on* Tewesdaye *the ſyxte daye of* July *in the yere of oure Lorde* 1535. *& in the* xxvii. *yere of the raign of king* Henry *theyght. And on the daye nexte before, beynge* mundaye *& the fyfte daye of* July, *he wrote with a cole a letter to his daughter mayſtreſſe* Rooper, *& ſente it to her (which was the laſte thynge that ever he wrote.) The copye whereof here followeth.*

OUre Lorde bleſſe you good daughter, & youre good husbande, & youre lyttle boye, & all yours, & all my children, & all my Godde chyldren & all oure frendes. Recommende me whan ye maye, to my good daughter *Cicily*, whom I beſeche oure Lorde to coumforte. And I ſende her my bleſſyng, & to all her children, & praye her to praye for me. I ſende her an handkercher: & god coumfort my good ſonne her husbande. My good daughter *Daunce* hathe the picture in parchemente, that you deliuered me from my ladye *Coniers*, her name is on the backeſide. Shewe *Giles Heron.*

her that I hartelye praye her, that you maye ſende it in my name to her agayne, for a token from me to praye for me. I lyke ſpesiall wel *Dorothy Coly*, I pray you be good vnto her. I woulde wytte whether thys be ſhe that you wrote me of. If not yet I praye you bee good to the tother, as you maye in her affliccion, & to my good daughter * *Joone Aleyn* too. Geue her I praye you ſome kynde aunſwere, for ſhe ſued hither to me this day to pray you be good to her. I comber you good *Margaret* much, but I would be ſory, if it ſhould be any longer than to morow. For it is ſaint *Thomas* euen, & the vtas of ſaint *Peter*: & therfore to morow long I to go to god: it were a day verye mete & conuenient for me. I neuer liked your maner toward me better, than whan you † kiſſed me laſte: for I loue when doughterly loue, & deere charitye, hath no leyſure to loke to worldlye curteſy. Farewell my dere chylde, & pray for me & I ſhall for you & all youre frendes, that we maye merelye mete in heauen. I thanke you for youre gret coſt. I ſend now my good daughter ** Clement* her algoriſme ſtone, & I ſend her & my Godſonne & all hers, goddes bleſſing & myne. I praye you at time conuenient recommende me to my good ſonne *John More*. I liked wel his †† naturall faſhion. Our lord bleſſe hym & his good wyfe my louing doughter, to whom I praye him to be good as he hathe greate cauſe: & that if the lande of myne come

* This was none of hys doughters nor no kynne vnto him, but one of maiſtres *Roopers* maydes.

† This he meant by her kiſſing him on the Tower-wharf when he came from Judgment

** This was not his daughter, but he hadde brought her vp from a chylde with his own daughters.

†† This he ment by that his ſonns asking him bleſſing when he came from Judgment.

come to his hande, he breake not my wyll concernynge hys ſiſter *Daunce*. And oure Lord bliſſe *Thomas* & *Auſten* & all that they ſhal haue.

These were his ſonnes children

Imprinted at *London* in *Fleteſtrete* at the ſygne of the *hande* & *ſtarre* at the coſte and charge of *John Cawood*, *John Walley*, & *Richard Tottle*

Fynyſhed in *Apryll* the yere of our Lorde God 1557

N° XIII.

Thomæ Mori *Angliæ Ornamenti eximij* LUCUBRATIONES *ab innumeris mendis repurgatæ.*

Vtopiæ Libri II.
Progymnaſmata.
Epigrammata

Ex *Luciano* converſa quædam.
Declamatio Lucianicæ reſpondens.

EPISTOLÆ.

Quibus additæ ſunt duæ aliorum Epiſtolæ de Vita, Moribus *et* Morte MORI, *adjuncto rerum notabilium Indice.*

Baſil *apud* Epiſcopium *F.* 1563.

Epiſtola de Morte D. Thomæ Mori *et Epiſcopi* Roffenſis *inſignium Virorum in* Anglia. p. 511.

* Courinus Nucerinus *Phil. Mont.* I. D.

* Nomen fictum pro *Eraſmo* ut aliqui putant

QUoniam juxta *Pythagoræ* ſententiam oportet omnia eſſe communia, recte collegit *Euripides* et dolores inter amicos oportere communes

eſſe. Accipies igitur, Vir amiciſſime, ab amico minime læta, ſed omni lachrymarum genere bonis omnibus deploranda: quanquam arbitror famam iſtuc jamdudum omnia pertuliſſe prius quam ad nos, de morte quorundam apud *Anglos* inſignium virorum, ſed præcipue *Thomæ Mori*, dum viveret, ejus Regni Baronis inclyti ac ſupremi judicis quem illi Cancellarium appellant: qua dignitate non eſt apud eam gentem alia major, excepto Rege, eoque, quum prodit, aureum ſceptrum impoſita corona Cæſarea geſtatur ad unum latus, ad alterum liber. Quæ vero ſum narraturus partim e ſchedis Gallice ſcriptis quæ hic circumferuntur deſumpſi, partim e rumoribus. Nam nihil horum vidi. Sed priuſquam aggrediar, paucis deſcribam *Londonienſis* urbis ſitum. Civitas in latum anguſta ad *Thamyſim* flumen ſic in longum porrecta eſt, ut videatur non poſſe deſinere, unde et nomen videtur inditum: ſiquidem apud *Flandros* loca mari vicina *Dunen* appellant. Indidem dictum videtur Galliarum *Lugdunum*, quaſi dicas longas ripas. Ad orientem in extremo habet arcem bene munitam qua reges interdum utuntur, vulgus *Turrim* appellat. Sed in eadem ſervari ſolent viri nobiles, aut alias dignitate quapiam præminentes, qui videntur aliquid adverſus Regiam Majeſtatem deliquiſſe. In altero extremo ad occaſum inſigne Monaſterium eſt Benedictinorum, vulgus appellat *Weſtmonaſterium*: et huic proximum Regis Palatium ſtructuræ veteris ſed quo nunc Reges parum delectantur. Palatio adjuncta eſt Domus ſpaciosiſſima nullis ſulta columnis, in qua ſedent Judices. Utrunque ædificium flumini imminet ut hinc illinc cymba vehi poſſint. In hac arce *Thomas Morus* poſteaquam multis menſibus fuiſſet captivus, Ca-
July, 1. lend. *Julijs* anno Domini MDxxxv, productus eſt ad modo dictam Curiam, capitis cauſam dicturus apud tribunal Judicum a Rege delegatorum, Ibat reus

reus baculo innixus tam longam viam, corpore gravi ægrotatione in carcere debilitato, nihil tamen perturbationis vultu præ ſe ferens. Primum recitati ſunt articuli criminum quæ illi objiciebantur. Mox Cancellarius qui *Moro* ſucceſſit, ac Dux *Nortfordij* hunc in modum reum appellarunt. En vides, Magiſter *More*, ſic appellant mediocri dignitate præditos, te graviter deliquiſſe in Regiam Majeſtatem. Attamen ſperamus te, ſi modo reſipiſcas et abjures iſtam obſtinatam opinionem in qua hactenus tam procaciter perſtitiſti, Veniam a Regis clementia conſequuturum. Ad hæc *Morus*.

'Domini mei, ego ſummo cordis affectu ago vobis
'gratias pro iſta veſtra amica erga me voluntate:
'tantum illud oro Deum omnipotentem, confir-
'mare dignetur me in hac qua nunc ſum ſententia,
'ut in ea perſeverem uſque ad mortem. Cæterum
'quum reputo quam prolixi quamque graves arti-
'culi ſunt quibus oneror, vereor ne mihi nec in-
'genium ſuppetat nec memoria, nec oratio quæ
'ſufficiat ad reſpondendum omnibus, præſertim
'quum in carcere tam diu fuerim detentus in quo
'gravi ægrotatione contraxi corporis debilitatem,
'quæ me nunc etiam habet.' Tum juſſu Judicum allata eſt ſella in qua ſederet. Ubi conſediſſet, proſequutus eſt inſtitutum ſermonem hunc in modum. 'Quod ad primum attinet articulum, qui I.
'conatur oſtendere meam in Regem malevolentiam
'in negocio poſterioris matrimonij, confiteor in-
'genue me ſemper reſtitiſſe illius ſereniſſimæ Ma-
'jeſtati. Nec eſt animus ſuper hoc negocio quic-
'quam aliud dicere quam quod hactenus ſemper
'dixi, ad hoc urgente me conſcientia: per quam
'ut non debebam, ita nec volebam principem me-
'um celare veritatem. Nec hic eſt ulla proditio
'quæ intenditur, quin potius ni id feciſſem, præſer-
'tim in re tanti momenti unde pendebat mea ſenten-
'tia et Principis honos et regni tranquillitas, tum

‘ vere fuiſſem, quod nunc objicitur, malevolus,
‘ perfidus ac proditor. Ob hoc delictum, ſi modo
‘ delictum appellandum eſt, graviſſimas dedi pœ-
‘ nas, exutus omnibus facultatibus meis, ac perpe-
‘ tuo addictus carceri in quo menſes jam quindecim
‘ totos fui detentus. Sed, his omiſſis, tantum ad
‘ ea reſpondebo quæ ſunt hujus negocij præcipua.’

‘ Quod objicitur me incurriſſe in pœnam viola-
‘ tæ conſtitutionis quæ proximo concilio prodita
‘ eſt, me jam in carcere agente, quaſi malitioſo
‘ animo perfidioſe ac proditorie Regiæ Majeſtati
‘ detraxerim famam, honorem ac dignitatem, quæ
‘ illi per dictam conſtitutionem erat tributa, vide-
‘ licet quod ibi declaratur ſub Jeſu Chriſto ſupre-
‘ mum Caput Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ: in primis re-
‘ ſpondebo ad hoc quod mihi objicitur, quod Do-
‘ mino Secretario Regis ac venerabili Majeſtatis
‘ illius conſilio rogatus quæ mea eſſet de hoc edi-
‘ cto ſententia nihil aliud voluerim reſpondere
‘ quam me jam mundo mortuum eſſe, nec iſtiuſ-
‘ modi negocijs amplius ſollicitari, ſed tantum
‘ meditari in paſſione Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.
‘ Dico me per iſtam veſtram conſtitutionem ob hoc
‘ ſilentium non poſſe damnari capitis, eo quod
‘ nec veſtrum edictum, nec ullæ Leges mundi poſ-
‘ ſunt quenquam ob ſilentium addicere morti, ſed
‘ tantum ob dictum aut perpetratum facinus. De
‘ occultis enim ſolus judicat Deus.’ Ad hæc re-
ſpondit Procurator Regius interpellans; ‘ At
‘ tale ſilentium, inquit, evidens argumentum eſt
‘ animi male ſentientis de jam dicta conſtitutione.
‘ Nam omnis ſubditus ſyncerus ac fidelis Regiæ
‘ Majeſtati, ſi de dicta conſtitutione interrogetur,
‘ tenetur et obligatur citra omnem diſſimulationem
‘ reſpondere categorice: Regium edictum eſſe
‘ bonum, juſtum ac ſanctum.’ Ad quæ *Morus*.
‘ Si verum eſt quod habetur in Legibus, eum qui
‘ tacet videri conſentire, meum ſilentium confir-

mavit

‘ mavit potius veſtram conſtitutionem quam impro-
‘ bavit. Jam quod dicis omnem ſubditum fidelem
‘ obligari ut reſpondeat categorice ſi interrogetur
‘ *&c.* Reſpondeo bonæ fidei ſubditum magis ob-
‘ ligatum eſſe DEO conſcientiæ et animæ ſuæ
‘ quam ulli alij rei in hoc mundo, maxime ſi talis
‘ conſcientia, qualis eſt mea, nihil offendiculi, nihil
‘ ſeditionis pariat domino ſuo. Nam illud pro
‘ certo vobis affirmo, quod nulli mortalium unquam
‘ detexerim hac in re conſcientiam meam.’

‘ Venio nunc ad ſecundum accuſationis caput, II.
‘ quo arguor contra dictam conſtitutionem molitus
‘ ac machinatus fuiſſe, eo quod ad *Roffenſem* ſcrip-
‘ ſerim octo paria epiſtolarum quibus illum anima-
‘ rim adverſus iſtud edictum. Equidem vehemen-
‘ ter optarim eas epiſtolas hic proferri ac recitari,
‘ quæ me vel convincerent vel liberarent. Cæterum
‘ quando illæ, quemadmodum prædicatis, per E-
‘ piſcopum exuſtæ ſunt, ipſe non gravabor recitare
‘ ſententiam earum. In earum quibuſdam agebatur
‘ de noſtris privatis negocijs pro vetere noſtra
‘ amicitia ac familiaritate. In una quadam con-
‘ tinebater reſponſum ad Epiſcopi literas quibus
‘ ſcire cupiebat quid et quo pacto reſpondiſſem
‘ de iſta conſtitutione. Ad id nihil aliud reſcripſi,
‘ niſi me jam meam compoſuiſſe conſcientiam ipſe
‘ componeret ſuam. Animæ meæ periculo, ac
‘ teſte Deo vobis aſſevero nihil aliud in illis literis
‘ a me ſcriptum fuiſſe. Harum igitur cauſa non
‘ poſſum per veſtram conſtitutionem addici morti.’

‘ Supereſt *tertius* articulus qui intendit quod III.
‘ quum de veſtra conſtitutione examinarer, dixerim
‘ eam eſſe ſimilem gladio utrinque ſecanti, prop-
‘ terea quod ſi quis vellet eam ſervare perderet
‘ animam, ſi contradiceret perderet corpus. Idem,
quoniam, ut dicitis, reſpondit Epiſcopus *Roffenſis*,
perſpicuum eſſe inter nos fuiſſe conſpirationem.

'Ad hæc reſpondeo, me nunquam fuiſſe loquutum 'niſi conditionaliter: ſic videlicet, ſi tale eſſet 'edictum qualis eſt gladius utrinque incidens, quo 'pacto poſſet quis evitare quin in alterum incideret 'periculum. Hæc mea fuit oratio. Quomodo 'reſponderit Epiſcopus, neſcio. Si illius oratio 'cum mea congruebat id nequaquam accidit ex 'conſpiratione, ſed potius ex ingeniorum ac doctrinæ ſimilitudine. Breviter illud pro certo habetote, me nunquam quicquam malitioſe fuiſſe 'loquutum adverſus veſtram conſtitutionem: at 'fieri potuit ut ad benignam Regis clementiam 'aliquid malitioſe fuerit delatum.'

Poſt hæc vocati ſunt per quendam ex oſtiarijs duodecim viri, juxta gentis illius conſuetudinem quibus traditi ſunt articuli ut ſuper illis conſultarent, ac poſt conſultationem judicarent ac pronunciarent utrum *Thomas Morus* malitioſe obſtitiſſet prædictæ conſtitutioni Regis an non. Qui quum per horæ quartam partem ſeceſſiſſent reverſi ſunt ad principes ac judices delegatos, ac pronuncia-
† *Guilty* runt † *Killim*, hoc eſt dignus eſt morte. Ac mox per D. Cancellarium lata eſt ſententia juxta tenorem novæ conſtitutionis. His ita peractis, *Thomas Morus* hunc in modum orſus eſt loqui. 'Age, 'quando ſum condemnatus, quo jure DEUS novit, 'ad exonerandam conſcientiam volo liberius eloqui 'quod ſentio de veſtra conſtitutione. Primum 'illud dico me ſeptem annis intendiſſe animum 'ſtudiumque meum in iſtam cauſam, verum hactenus in nullo Doctorum ab Eccleſia probatorum 'reperi ſcriptum quod Laicus, aut, ut vocant, Secularis, poſſit aut debeat eſſe Caput Status Spiri-'tualis aut eccleſiaſtici.' Hic Cancellarius interrumpens *Mori* ſermonem, 'Domine *More*, inquit, 'itane tu vis haberi ſapientior, melioris que conſcientiæ omnibus Epiſcopis, tota nobilitate, toto denique

‘ denique regno? Ad quæ *Morus*, ‘ Domine,
‘ inquit, Cancellarie, pro uno Epiſcopo quem ha-
‘ bes tuæ opinionis, ego ſanctos et orthodoxos vi-
‘ ros habeo centum mecum ſentientes, et pro uni-
‘ co veſtro concilio, quod quale ſit DEUS novit,
‘ pro me habeo omnia Concilia generalia annis
‘ abhinc mille celebrata: et pro uno regno habeo
‘ *Franciam* cæteraque orbis Chriſtiani regna omnia.’
Hic Dux *Nortfordij* interpellans: ‘ Nunc *More*, *Norfolchiæ*
‘ inquit, perſpicue liquet tua malevolentia.’ Ad
quæ *Morus*, ‘ *Milordt, ſic Angli compellant inſigni *My Lord!*
‘ dignitate præſtantes, ut hoc loquar non incitat
‘ malevolentia, ſed cogit neceſſitas ad exonerandam
‘ conſcientiam meam, teſte DEO qui ſolus ſcrutatur
‘ corda hominum. Præterea dico et illud, conſti-
‘ tutionem veſtram eſſe perperam factam, eo quod
‘ vos profeſſi eſtis et jurejurando voſmet ipſos ob-
‘ ſtrinxiſtis nihil unquam molituros adverſus ſan-
‘ ctam Eccleſiam quæ per univerſam ditionem
‘ Chriſtianam unica eſt integra et individua, neque
‘ vos ſoli ullam habetis autoritatem citra aliorum
‘ Chriſtianorum conſenſum condendi legem, aut
‘ inſtituendi concilium adverſus unionem et concor-
‘ diam Chriſtianitatis. Nec me fugit quam ob rem
‘ a vobis condemnatus ſim, videlicet ob id, quod
‘ nunquam voluerim aſſentire in negocio novi ma-
‘ trimonij Regis. Confido autem de divina boni-
‘ tate ac miſericordia fore ut quemadmodum olim
‘ *Paulus Stephanum* perſecutus eſt uſque ad mor-
‘ tem, et tamen ijsdem nunc unanimes ſunt in cœlo,
‘ ita nos qui nunc diſcordes ſumus in hoc mundo,
‘ in futuro ſeculo pariter ſimus concordes et per-
‘ fecta charitate unanimes. Hac ſpe fretus precor
‘ DEUM ut vos ſervet una cum Rege, eique dare
‘ dignetur bonos conſultores.’ His ita peractis,
Thomas Morus reductus eſt in Turrim. Hic obiter
accidit ſpectaculum ipſa condemnatione miſerabi-
lius. *Margaret* filiarum *Mori* natu maxima, mu-

lier

lier præter eximiam formæ venuſtatem cum ſumma dignitate conjunctam, judicio, ingenio, moribus et eruditione Patris ſimillima, per mediam populi turbam, perque Satellitum arma ſemet injecit et ad parentem penetravit. Quum et mulier eſſet, et natura cum primis verecunda, tamen et metum et pudorem omnem excuſſerat impotens animi dolor, cum audiſſet Patrem in Curia morti addictum eſſe. Hoc accidit priuſquam *Morus* arcis portam ingrederetur. Ibi in chariſſimi Parentis collum irruens arctiſſimo complexu aliquandiu tenuit eum. Cæterum ne verbum quidem interim potuit proloqui. *Curæ*, inquit Tragicus, *leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent.* Movit ſtipatores, tametſi duros, hoc ſpectaculum. Horum itaque permiſſu *Morus* his verbis conſolatus eſt filiam. *Margareta*, patienter feras, nec te diſcrucies amplius. Sic eſt voluntas DEI. Jampridem noſti ſecreta cordis mei. Simulque dedit oſculum ex conſuetudine gentis ſi quem dimittunt. At illa cum digreſſa eſſet ad decem vel duodecim paſſus, denuo recurrit, et amplexa parentem rurſus inhæſit collo illius, ſed elinguis præ doloris magnitudine. Cui pater nihil loquutus eſt, tantum erumpebant lachrymæ, vultu tamen a conſtantia nihil dimoto. Nec aliud ſupremis verbis mandavit quam ut DEUM pro anima Patris deprecaretur. Ad hoc pietatis certamen plurimis e populari turba lachrymæ excidere. Erant et inter ſatellites, ferum et immite genus hominum, qui lachrymas tenere non potuerunt. Nec mirum, quum pietatis affectus adeo valida res ſit, ut immitiſſimas etiam feras moveat. Hic apud ſe quiſque reputet quam valido ariete tum pulſatum ſit *Thomæ Mori* pectus. Erat enim erga ſuos omnes φιλοστοργος ut non alius magis: ſed eam filiam ut erat eximijs prædita dotibus, ita diligebat impenſius. *Morum* fortiter excepiſſe ſententiam mortis, aut etiam carnificis ſecurim, minus

admirandum

admirandum exiſtimo quam pietatem erga ſuos potuiſſe vincere. Nihil enim addubito quin hic doloris gladius crudelius vulneravit *Mori* præcordia quam illa carnificis ſecuris quæ collum amputavit.

Die Mercurij ſequente, hoc eſt ſeptimo die *Julij* productus eſt in planiciem quæ eſt ante arcem. Mos eſt illic ut afficiendi ſupplicio de ponte plebem alloquantur. At *Morus* pauciſſimis verbis eſt uſus, tantum orans qui aderant ut pro ipſo Deum orarent in hoc mundo, ſe viciſſim in altero mundo precaturum pro ipſis. Mox hortabatur atque inſtantur rogabat, orarent DEUM pro Rege ut illi dignaretur impertire bonum conſilium, conteſtans ſe mori fidelem ac bonum Regis miniſtrum, ac DEI in primis. Hæc loquutus prompte conſtanti que vultu flexis genibus cervicem poſuit ſecurim excepturus, non ſine gravi multorum gemitu. Erat enim bonis omnib. chariſſimus.

Quæ hactenus narravi fere continebantur in ſchade apud *Pariſios* jactata, ac per manus hominum volitante; quiſquis autem ſcripſit, videtur actis interfuiſſe. Quæ deinceps referam, partim ex amicorum literis, partim e rumoribus accepi. Paucis ante diebus, hoc eſt xv. Cal. Julias *Joannes Phiſcherus* Epiſcopus *Roffenſis* qui tum vitæ ſanctimonia atq; auſteritate, tum adminiſtrandis ſacramentis, tum aſſiduitate docendi voce ſimul et ſcriptis, denique mira liberalitate in egenos, benignitate in ſtudioſos, verum agebat Epiſcopum, ex arce dicta in qua captivus tenebatur productus eſt, et ad Curiam, quæ ut ante dixi *Weſtmonaſterio* proxima eſt, frequenti ſatellitum armatorum ſtipatu perductus eſt, partim navigio, partim equo, ob corpuſculi debilitatem quam præter ætatem auxerat carceris incommoditas, licet ipſe valetudinem ſuam ſemper et jejunijs et vigilijs et ſtudijs et laboribus ac lachrymis vehementer attenuaſſet. Ille vero tametſi non ignoraret ejus cognitionis exitum, nihil tamen

John Fiſher.

perturbatus

perturbatus eſt, ſed placido ac prope etiam ad hilaritatem compoſito vultu ad tribunal evocantibus paruit. Ibi juxta morem ejus regionis quem antea deſcripſi, ſententia capitali damnatus eſt, ſupplicium daturus ſimulatq; Regi viſum eſſet. Hoc adjectum ſuſpicor, ſi forte ſpe veniæ ac ſupplicij metu poſſet a ſententia deduci. Mortis genus erat et fœdum et horribile, quo tamen fuerant affecti Cartuſiani aliquot, quos aiunt fuiſſe quindecim, quod ut credam vix poſſum adduci. Cartuſianis adjunctus eſt *Reginaldus* monachus *Brigittenſis*, vir angelico vultu, et angelico ſpiritu, ſanique judicij quod ex illius colloquio comperi, quum in comitatu Cardinalis *Campegij* verſarer in *Anglia*. Nam Cartuſianorum novi neminem. Aiunt ex his quoſdam fuiſſe per viam tractos, dein ſuſpenſos laqueo, ac ſpirantibus etiamnum execta inteſtina: quoſdam etiam exuſtos igni, ſed omnium incredibilem *fuiſſe* conſtantiam. Solet rumor rebus triſtibus aliquid addere. At ſi hic verus eſt, videtur hoc eſſe conſilium eorum qui regio obſecundant animo, ut immanitate ſuppliciorum cæteros abſterreant. Nam facile divinabant inſtitutum plurimis improbatum iri, præſertim Eccleſiaſticis, et religionis ſtudio deditis. Sed ad *Roffenſem* Epiſcopum redeo. Is, accepta tam horrendæ mortis ſententia, quum ſatellitibus ſtipatus reduceretur in arcem, ut ad Oſtium ventum eſt verſus ad ſatellites hilari placidoque vultu, plurimam, inquit, optimi viri, vobis habeo gratiam pro officio quo me euntem et redeuntem deduxiſtis. Dixiſſes hominem ex hilari ſuavique redire convivio, adeo ut color erat jucundior, et ipſe toto corporis geſtu, quatenus per gravitatem licuit, lætitiam quandam præ ſe ferebat, ut nemini non eſſet perſpicuum ſanctiſſimum virum, ceu jam portui vicinum, toto pectore ad illam beatam tranquillitatem aſpirare. Nec diu dilata eſt mors. Ad decimum Cal. *Julij* productus in

Planiciem,

Planiciem, quam Angli vulgo dicunt Turris-collem, vultu non ſolum conſtanti, verumetiam alacri, paucis alloquutus eſt populum. Primum Regi Regnoque bene precatus eſt. Mox ardenti magis quam prolixa precatione ſe ipſum DEI miſericordiæ commendavit. ſimulque procumbens in genua, gracili et exhauſta cervice ſecurim excepit. Neque enim apud Anglos carnifices gladio cervicem incidunt, ſed damnato in truncum ad id apparatum inclinanti ſecuri caput amputant. Quanto cum animi dolore viderint hoc ſpectaculum quibus religio pietaſq; cordi eſt, et qui Chriſti ſpiritum in paſtore operantem experti fuerant, facile quivis ex ſeſe poterit æſtimare. Cæterum quod mitiore pœna affectus eſt quam minabatur Judicum ſententia, ſunt qui in cauſa fuiſſe putent, quod metuerint ne ſenex et exhauſto corpuſculo, ſi per viam tam longam rheda traheave tractus ſuiſſet, ſponte expiraret. Ego ſuſpicor ob hoc mortis genus atrocius denunciatum, ut immanitate ſupplicij territus mutaret ſententiam. Nec deſunt qui prædicant ob hoc ipſum acceleratam mortem, quod Ro: Pontifex *Paulus* tertius Epiſcopum *Roffenſem* ob inſignem doctrinam ac pietatem in Cardinalium ordinem elegiſſet. Ex amicorum literis cognovi in *Germania* inferiore ſparſum rumorem quum Epiſcopi *Roffenſis* caput eſſet in ponte *Londonienſi* de more expoſitum, non ſolum non emarcuiſſe verumetiam magis effloruiſſe, vivoque factum ſimilius, ut multi crederent fore ut etiam loqui inciperet: quod in quibuſdam martyribus factum legimus. Ea res, ſeu fama quum vulgo increbuiſſet, ſublatum eſt atque abditum: Populus enim credulus ſæpe levi quapiam occaſione turbas ingentes excitat. At veriti ne idem eveniret in capite *Mori*, priuſquam exponeretur, aqua ferventi decoctum eſt, quo plus haberet horroris. Hæc aliaque multa his ſimilia perſcribuntur e *Flandria Britannis* viciniore; penes alios

alios ſit fides. Utinam huc perveniſſent acta *Roſſenſis*, quemadmodum Acta *Mori* pervenerunt. Ex *Mori* reſponſis facile liquet illum deſtinaſſe mori citius quam ſuæ ſententiæ canere palinodiam. Quo animo videntur omnes fuiſſe qui ante *Morum* extincti ſunt. *Morum* et *Roffenſem* et illud movit opinor, quod qui bene natos, laute educatos, in honore habitos in carcere detinet, non dat vitam, ſed longiorem et acerbiorem mortem. Ego ſi Regi fuiſſem in conſilio, pro mea ſtultitia conatus fuiſſem illi perſuadere, ut pro ſua ſolita clementia cœteriſque virtutibus, per quas nomen ipſius hactenus erat apud omnes nationes gratioſum et amabile, ab illis *Britanniæ* luminibus totiq; orbi notis abſtineret, aut certe pœna mitiore contentus eſſet. Rurſus, ſi qui perierunt me adhibuiſſent in conſilium, ſuaſiſſem ne ſe irruenti procellæ palam opponerent. Violenta res ira regum, cui ſi incommode reſiſtas, graviores excitat tumultus. Equi feroces quemadmodum et tonitrua non vi ſed popyſmate leniuntur. Et nautæ non pugnant adverſus impotentem tempeſtatem, ſed vel quiete vel obliquis curſibus utentes expectant cœlum commodius. Multis rebus medetur tempus, quas nulla vi poſſis emendare. Res humanæ ſemper quidem fluctuant, ſed quoties incidit inſignis aut fatalis rerum mutatio, multi periclitantur qui non cedunt turbini. Veluti quum *Julius Cæſar* aperiret januam tyrannidi, et Triumviri junctis copijs Imperium Orbis occuparent, laudatiſſimi quique viri perierunt, quorum erat et *M. Tullius*. Qui monarchis ſerviunt ijs quædam diſſimulanda ſunt, ut ſi non queant obtinere quod judicaverunt optimum, ſaltem aliqua ex parte moderentur principum affectus. Dixerit aliquis pro veritate mortem oppetendum. At non pro quavis veritate. Si tyrannus jubeat, aut abjura Chriſtum, aut pone cervicem: ponenda cervix. Sed aliud eſt ſilere, aliud abjurare.

abjurare. Si fas eſt te diſſimulare Chriſtianum citra grave ſcandalum, multo magis licuiſſet hic eſſe tacitum. Sed inepte facio qui de rebus tam arduis diſputem, qui nunquam interfuerim monarcharum conſilijs. Itaque de tota cauſa judicium alijs relinquo. Illud ſatis conſtat eos viros ſi quid peccarint, nulla in Regem malevolentia peccaſſe, ſed ſimplici ſynceraque conſcientia erraſſe. Hoc ſibi penitus perſuaſerant, hoc medullis infixum habebant ſanctum, pium, Regi honorificum, Regno ſalutare eſſe quod tuebantur. Argumento eſt quod nullus illorum affectarit Regnum, aut alteri aſſerere conatus ſit, nec ullam molitus ſit ſeditionem, aut ullas contraxerit copias, ac ne verbum quidem excidit odium conſpirationemve reſipiens. Silere cupiebant ſi licuiſſet, ſed patienter ac placide mortem exceperunt, nihil aliud quam Regi Regnoque bene precantes. At in atrocibus etiam criminibus magnam culpæ partem ſimplex ac pura conſcientia, animuſque non lædendi, ſed bene merendi cupidus. Tum apud efferas etiam nationes frequenter eximiæ virtuti, præſtantiq; doctrinæ honos eſt habitus. *Platoni* apud *Aeginetas* juxta civitatis conſtitutionem, capite plectendo, profuit Philoſophi cognomen. *Diogenes* impune penetravit in caſtra *Philippi* regis *Macedonum* ad quem pro exploratore adductus, libere exprobravit Regi inſaniam quod non contentus ſuo regno, ſemet conjiceret in periculum ne perderet omnia. Non impune tantum, ſed etiam cum munere dimiſſus eſt, non ob aliud niſi quod eſſet Philoſophus. Quemadmodum monarcharum in eruditos benignitas plurimum honeſti nominis illis conciliat, ita durius tractati plurimum invidiæ conflant illis. De his præcipue loquor qui ſcriptis inclaruerunt apud omnes nationes, et quorum memoria videtur apud poſteros futura gratioſa. Quis nunc non execratur *Antonium* qui *Ciceronem* ferro peremit? Quis non

deteſtatur

deteſtatur *Neronem* qui *Senecam* occiderit ? Nec minimum gratiæ deceſſit *Octavij Cæſaris* nomini quod *Ovidium* ad *Getas* relegarit. Hæc nequaquam eo mihi dicuntur ut Regem Chriſtianum cum impijs principibus conferam, aut de negocio cujus circumſtantias non novi pronunciem, quod etiamſi periculum abeſſet, temerarium eſſet : ſed ut oſtendam quibus rationibus fuerim conaturus perſuadere at Rex parcendo viris pietatis et eruditionis commendatione jam immortalitati conſecratis, ſuo quoque nomini conſuleret. Plauſibilis ſemper eſt præpotentum clementia : ſed tum clariſſimos fert applauſus quoties viris illuſtribus ac de republica bene meritis impenditur. Omne ſolum forti Patria eſt : et exilium fortibus ac præclaris viris ſæpe ceſſit feliciter. Mortis invidia gravis eſt. Quum Rex Galliarum *Lodovicus* XII. regnum adeptus pararet diuortium cum *Lodovici* regis XI. filia, *Maria*, ni fallor, nomine, res diſplicuit quibuſdam bonis, ex quibus *Joannes Standock* et hujus diſcipulus *Thomas* in concione nihil aliud dixerant, niſi DEUM orandum eſſe ut Regi inſpiraret bonum conſilium. Quæ apud populum dicuntur ad ſeditionem ſpectant : et hi deliquerant adverſus Regis edictum. Rex tamen nihil aliud quam vertere ſolum juſſit, nec quicquam ademit facultatum : at idem, negocio quod agebat confecto, revocabat eos. Hac moderatione rex ille et ſuo conſuluit inſtituto, et gravem invidiam evitavit, quod uterque eſſet Theologus, uterque ſanctitatis opinione commendatus. At *Thomæ Mori* mortem deplorant et ij quorum inſtituto pro viribus adverſabatur : Tantus erat hominis in omnes candor, tanta comitas, tantaq; benignitas. Quem ille vel mediocriter eruditum ab ſe dimiſit indonatum ? Aut quis fuit tam alienus, de quo non ſtuduerit bene mereri ? Multi non favent niſi ſuis, *Galli Gallis*, *Germani Germanis*, *Scoti Scotis* : at ille in *Hybernos*,

in

in *Germanos*, in *Gallos*, in *Scythas* et *Indos* amico fuit animo. Hæc naturæ benignitas ſic *Morum* omnium animis penitus infixit, ut non ſecus ac parentem aut fratrem plorent extinctum. Ipſe vidi multorum lachrymas qui nec viderant *Morum*, nec ullo officio ab eo fuerant affecti: ac mihi quoque dum hæc ſcribo, nolenti ac repugnanti lachrymæ proſiliunt. Quomodo nunc affectum credimus *Eraſmum* noſtrum, cui cum *Moro* tam arcta fuit amicitia, ut prorſus, juxta *Pythagoram*, in duobus eadem eſſe videretur anima? Equidem miſere metuo ne bonus ille ſenex *Moro* ſuo commoriatur, ſi tamen adhuc in vivis eſt. Sunt qui nos conſolantur hoc argumento, quod dicunt non deplorandos eſſe, ſed gratulandum potius ijs qui tali morte vitam finierunt. Eſt iſtud fateor non leve doloris lenimen: at ego *Morum* optarim incolumem, quum omnium ſtudioſorum gratia, tum vero præcipue familiæ cauſa, quam et numeroſam et plane philoſophicam reliquit, filium natu minimum jam maritum ac liberorum parentem, filias tres, et has nuptas ac liberorum matres, eruditas omnes, ac ſub paterna diſciplina ad Chriſtianam philoſophiam pulchre inſtitutas, uxorem fidelem, ac jam anum, ex qua tamen nullam prolem ſuſtulit. Has omnes cum ſponſis, nepotibus ac neptibus in unis ædibus alebat, tanta religione, tantaque concordia, quantam non temere reperias in collegijs monachorum ac virginum. Hic mihi cogita, Vir optime, qui luctus, quæ lacrymæ, qui gemitus, qui dolores totam illam familiam conficiant. Quot egregias animas vulneravit illa ſecuris quæ *Mori* caput amputavit? Multi demirantes rogant, quid tanti ſceleris commiſerit vir ſemper habitus innocentiſſimis moribus. Quibus vix habeo quod pro comperto reſpondeam, niſi quod partim conjicere licet ex articulis *Moro* objectis et illius reſponſione, partim ex amicorum literis ac fama

vulgata discere datur. Rex, ut omnibus notissimum est, aliquot annis moliebatur repudium cum Regina *Caroli Cæsaris* Matertera. *Morus* præsagiens quo res esset evasura, ultro deposuit Cancellarij munus, alia quædam causatus, ne cogeretur ejus negotij exequutor esse quod apud sese non probabat. Erat enim mentis tam religiosæ, ut propior esset superstitioni quam impietati. Sic cogitabat, privato licebit quiescere: Cancellario, qui os est Regis, non licebit. Videbat fore ut cogeretur multos condemnare morte quos judicabat optimos: ad hæc exitum tanti negocij incertum esse ob Ecclesiasticorum potentiam ac gentis illius solitam in Reges ferociam. Tale si quid natum fuisset prima Victima fuisset Cancellarius. At me si *Morus* in consilium adhibuisset, quum esset tam anxie religiosa conscientia, dehortatus fuissem eum ne susciperet dignitatem. Vix enim fieri potest, ut qui in arduis Principum functionibus versantur, in magnis pariter ac parvis justiciam ad unguem observent. Proinde mihi gratulantibus quod talem haberem amicum in tanto rerum fastigio collocatum, respondere soleo, me non prius illi de ejus dignitatis accessione gratulaturum quam juberet ipse. Jam tum enim nescio quid sinistri præsagiebat animus. Nec Regem arbitror latuisse quam ob causam *Morus* deponeret magistratum, utcunq; dissimulavit, quod *Homerus* indicat Monarchis esse proprium, offensionem in animo tegere, donec multo post tempore detur ulciscendi opportunitas. Interim Rex minis ac fulminibus *Clementis* VII. factus irritatior, adjecit animum, ad vetus illius regionis exemplum, ut Regnum a jure Pontificis Romani assereret, et utriusq; status supremam potestatem sibi vendicaret. Cæterum quum sentiret plurimorum animos ab hoc instituto abhorrere, ne qua cooriretur seditio, promulgatum est edictum ut quicunque non abjuraret Rc. Pont. autoritatem, aut improbaret novum matroniumim,

trimonium, capitalis eſſet. Verum hoc edictum non eſt promulgatum niſi *Roffenſe* et *Moro* jam ductis in cuſtodiam. *Roffenſis* ſemper plurimum tribuit ſedi Romanæ, et adverſus repudium libris etiam conſcriptis pugnarat, ſed tum-quum adhuc integrum eſſet conſulere. *Morus* ſcripſit nihil, ſed pro officio quod gerebat conabatur Regis animum in eam inflectere ſententiam quam putabat et DEO gratam et Regi tutam et Regno ſalutarem. Erat illi magna familiaritas cum Epiſcopo *Roffenſe*, tum prædium quod habebat *Morus* non procul aberat a *Richemonda*. Ibi Regio palatio vicina ſunt duo Monaſteria vehementer opulenta, et, quod majus eſt, bonæ diſciplinæ, alterum *Cartuſianorum*, alterum *Brigittenſium*. Ab his facile crediderim ſollicitatum *Mori* animum ut Eccleſiæ cauſam tueretur: at ipſum aliquid effutiſſe quod rebellionem ſaperet, nunquam ſum crediturus, ut qui ex crebris colloquijs perſpexerim admirabilem quandam hominis cautionem. Equidem vix alium Anglum comperi qui tam medullitus amarit Principem ſuum, aut magis ex animo bene vellet quam ille. Unde igitur hic tumultus? Violenta res eſt conſcientia magis metuens DEUM offendere quam mortem oppetere. Forte fefellit eum perſuaſio. At demiror ſi vir ille levibus argumentis adductus eſt, ut ſic obfirmaret animum. Maluit ipſe perpeti quam in alios facere, quod neceſſe fuiſſet ſi in ſuſcepto munere perſeveraſſet. Quin et Reginæ veteris, ſingulari pietate fæminæ multos miſeret, non tantum ob id quod dudum tanta dignitate florens nunc in eum ſtatum redacta eſt ut ob divortium nec eo frui poſſet quicum tam diu vixit, nec alteri nubere ob *Clementis* ſententiam: verumetiam quod videt non dubium quin cum ſummo animi dolore ipſius cauſa tales viros trucidari. Hujus porro Tragædiæ quis ſit futurus exitus DEUS novit. Illud in confeſſo

* *Bekett.* eſt per necem beati *Thomæ* * *Acrenſis* plurimum et auctoritatis et opum acceſſiſſe ſtatui Eccleſiaſtico apud Anglos. Qui res mortalium ſuo imperſcrutabili conſilio moderatur, pro ſua bonitate dignabitur hæc omnia vertere in ſuam gloriam. Tantum e ſcheda, rumoribus et amicorum literis hactenus licuit cognoſcere; ſi compertiora fuero nactus, tibi communicabo. Tu fac viciſſim ut per te ſciamus quid agat Rex *Sion* cum ſuis prophetis, populoque retincto, de quibus hic mira feruntur, an vera neſcio. Apud *Lutetiam Pariſiorum* X Cal. *Auguſti*, Anno MDXXXV.

N.B. This Letter was printed firſt at *Antwerp* in 1536 with the following Title: *Expoſitio fidelis de Morte* Thomæ Mori. and is ſuppoſed by ſome tove been written by *Eraſmus*.

N° XIV.

Mores Erglish Works

Sir Thomas More *beinge lorde Chancellour of* Englande *gave over that office, by his great* † *ſute and labour, the* 16 *day of* May *A. D.* 1532. *and in the* 24*th yere of the reigne of* K. Henry VIII. *And after in that Somer he wrote an Epitaphy in latin and cauſed it to be written upon his tombe of Stone which himſelf, while he was Lord Chancellour, had cauſed to be made in his Pariſh Church of* Chelſey, *where he dwelled, three ſmall miles from* London. *The copy of which Epitaphy here foloweth.* *Thomas*

* Natus eſt hic *Thomas* in Parœchia Sti. *Thomæ* de *Acon* vel *Acres*: vel potius in domo ſtante in loco quo poſtea conſtructum eſt Hoſpitium dicatum *Thomæ* de *Acon*, nunc vocat. *Mercers Chapel.*

† Quam rem ad hunc uſque diem a puero pene ſemper optavi, *Deſideri* dulciſſime, ut quod tibi perpetuo contigiſſe gauderem, idem aliquando gauderem contigiſſe mihi, nempe ut, publicarum rerum negotijs liberatus aliquid olim temporis vivere DEO duntaxat ac mihimet ipſi poſſem: id nunc tandem, *Eraſme*, DEI opt. max. benignitate ac Principis indulgentiſſimi beneficio conſequutus ſum. *Mori* epiſt. ad *Eraſmum*.

Thomas Morus urbe *Londinenſi*, familia non celebri ſed honeſta natus, in literis utcunque verſatus quum et cauſas aliquot annos juvenis egiſſet in foro, et in urbe ſua pro Shyrevo jus dixiſſet, ab invictiſſimo rege *Henrico* octavo (cui uni Regum omnium gloria prius inaudita contigit ut *Fidei defenſor*, qualem et gladio ſe et calamo vere preſtitit, merito vocaretur) adſcitus in Aulam eſt, delectuſque in conſilium, et creatus eques proquæſtor primum, poſt Cancellarius *Lancaſtriæ*, tandem *Angliæ* miro Principis favore factus eſt. Sed interim in publico Regni Senatu lectus eſt orator Populi; præterea legatus Regis nonnunquam fuit alias alibi: poſtremo vero *Cameraci* comes et collega junctus principi legationis *Cuthberto Tonſtallo* tum *Londinenſi* mox *Dunelmenſi* Epiſcopo, quo viro vix habet orbis hodie quicquam eruditius, prudentius, melius. Ibi inter ſummos orbis chriſtiani monarchas rurſus refecta fœdera redditamque mundo diu deſideratam pacem, et lætiſſimus vidit, et legatus interfuit.

Quam ſuperi pacem firment faxintque perennem. In hoc officiorum vel honorum curſu quum ita verſaretur ut neque princeps optimus operam ejus improbaret, neque nobilibus eſſet inviſus, nec injucundus populo, furibus autem, homicidis, hæreticiſque moleſtus, pater ejus * tandem *Joannes Morus* eques et in eum Judicum Ordinem a principe cooptatus qui † *regius conſeſſus* vocatur, homo civilis, ſuavis, innocens, mitis, miſericors, æquus et integer, annis quidem gravis, ſed corpore pluſquam pro ætate vivido, poſtquam eo productam ſibi Vitam vidit ut filium videret *Angliæ* Cancellarium, ſatis in terra jam ſe moratum ratus, libens emigravit in Cœlum. At filius, defuncto patre, cui quamdiu ſupererat comparatus et juvenis vocari conſueverat, et ipſe quoque ſibi videbatur, amiſſum jam patrem requirens, et æditos ex ſe liberos quatuor

* AD 1518

† *The Kings Bench.*

ipſi editos

et nepotes undecim reſpiciens apud animum ſuum cœpit perſeneſcere. Auxit hunc affectum animi ſubſecuta ſtatim, velut adpetentis ſenij ſignum, pectoris valetudo deterior. Itaque mortalium harum rerum ſatur, quam rem a puero pene ſemper optaverat, ut ultimos aliquot vitæ ſuæ annos obtineret liberos, quibus hujus vitæ negotijs paulatim ſe ſubducens futuræ poſſet immortalitatem meditari, eam rem tandem (ſi cæptis annuat DEUS) indulgentiſſimi Principis incomparabili beneficio reſignatis honoribus impetravit: atque hoc ſepulchrum ſibi, quod mortis eum nunquam ceſſantis abrepere quotidie commonefaceret, tranſlatis huc prioris uxoris oſſibus, extruendum curavit. Quod ne ſuperſtes fruſtra ſibi fecerit, neve ingruentem trepidus mortem horreat, ſed deſiderio Chriſti libens oppetat, mortemque ut ſibi non omnino mortem ſed januam Vitæ fælicioris inveniat precibus
* eum * cum piis, lector optime, ſpirantem precor defunctumque proſequere.

Under this Epitaphy *in proſe he cauſed to be written on his tombe this latten Epitaphy in Verſis folowing, which himſelf had made* 20 Years before.*

* 1513.

Chara *Thomæ* jacet hic *Joanna* uxorcula *Mori*,
Qui tumulum *Aliciæ* hunc deſtino, quique mihi.
Una mihi dedit hoc conjuncta virentibus annis,
Me vocet ut puer et trina puella patrem.
Altera privignis (quæ gloria rara novercæ eſt)
Tam pia quam gratis vix fuit ulla ſuis.
Altera ſic mecum vixit, ſic altera vivit,
Charior incertum eſt hæc ſi an hæc fuerit.
O ſimul O juncti poteramus vivere nos tres,
Quam bene ſi factum religioque ſinant.
At ſociet tumulus, ſociet nos obſecro cœlum,
Sic Mors, non potuit quod dare Vita, dabit.

But

But of this place of reſt Sir *Thomas* had like to have been diſappointed, by his falling under the King's diſpleaſure and having an untimely death, had it not been for the Piety and Intereſt of his daughter Mrs. *Rooper*. For after his execution his headleſs body being buried by order in St. *Peters* Chapel within the Tower, Mrs. *Rooper* got leave, not long after to remove her fathers corps to *Chelſey* to be laid where he himſelf had deſigned it ſhould reſt. *Weever's* Funeral Monuments, p. 505, 506

N° XV.

Eraſmus *has given us, in a Letter of his to his friend* Ulric Hutten, *a very fine and particular deſcription of Sir* Thomas's *Perſon: which I will here tranſcribe.*

UT ab ea parte exordiar qua tibi *Morus* eſt ignotiſſimus, ſtatura modoque corporis eſt intra proceritatem, ſupra tamen notabilem humilitatem. Verum omnium membrorum tanta eſt ſymmetria, ut nihil hic omnino deſideres, cute corporis candida, facies magis ad candorem vergit quam ad pallorem, quanquam a rubore procul abeſt, niſi quod tenuis admodum rubor ubique ſublucet, capilli ſubnigro flavore, ſive mavis ſufflavo nigrore, barba rarior, oculi ſubcæſii maculis quibuſdam interſperſi, quæ ſpecies ingenium arguere ſolet feliciſſimum, apud *Britannos* etiam amabilis habetur, cum noſtri nigrore magis capiantur. Negant ullum oculorum genus minus infeſtari vitijs. Vultus ingenio reſpondet, gratam et amicam feſtivitatem ſemper præ ſe ferens, ac nonnihil ad ridentis habitum compoſitus. Atque, ut ingenue dicam, appoſitior ad jucunditatem quam ad gravitatem aut dignitatem, etiamſi longiſſime abeſt ab ineptia ſcurrilitateque; Dexter humerus paulo videtur eminentior lævo,

præſertim cum incedit, id quod illi non accidit natura ſed aſſuetudine, qualia permulta nobis ſolent adhærere. In reliquo corpore nihil eſt quod offendat, manus tantum ſubruſticæ ſunt; ita duntaxat ſi ad reliquam corporis ſpeciem conferatur.

Schoolmaſter. P. 54. ed. 1589. 4to

Of this gate of Sir *Thomas's*, as if one ſhoulder was higher than the other, *Roger Aſcham* takes notice & ſeems to aſcribe it to affectation; He tells us of one here in *England* who did follow or mimick Sir *Thomas* in wearing his gowne a wry upon the one ſhoulder as Sir *Thomas* was wont to do, in order to be counted like him, tho' he was moſt unlike him in wit and learning.

His Hands, *Eraſmus* obſerves were a little clumſy or ruſtic, in compariſon with the reſt of his body, which perhaps may be the reaſon why they are concealed by that great Artiſt *Hans Holben* in the ſeveral † Family pieces which he drew for Sir *Thomas*, wherin he is repreſented Sitting with his hands folded together & covered with the ſleeves of his Gown. One of theſe fine pictures I ſaw at *Well-Hall*, an ancient Seat of the Family of the *Roopers* in the Pariſh of *Eltham* near *Black-heath* in *Kent*. The room which is here repreſented ſeem'd to me to be a large dining room. At the upper end of it ſtands a * Chamber Organ on a Cupboard with a curtain drawn

March, 1710-7

† One of theſe Sir *Thomas* preſented to his friend *Eraſmus* who thus ſpeaks of it in a Letter to Mrs. *Margaret Rooper*. Pictor *Olbeinus* totam familiam iſtam adeo fæliciter expreſſam mihi repreſentavit, ut ſi coram adfuiſſem non multo plus fuerim viſurus. ——Effigiem ornatiſſimæ matronæ *Aloyſiæ* matris tuæ, quando coram non licuit, libenter ſum exoſculatus.

Epiſt. Lib. xxvi. ep. 50.

* The Author of the deſcription of this Picture in *Hearne's* Preface ſeems by the helpof a ſtrong imagination to have miſtaken this for a *Yellow Bed* which he ſays, ſtands juſt by Sir *John More*, whoſe bed he ſuppoſes it to be and he repreſented ſitting juſt by it.

drawn before it. On each end of the Cup-board, which is covered with a carpet of Tapiſtry, ſtands a flower pot of flowers, and on the Cup-board are laid a Lute, a Baſe Viol, a Pint Pot or Ewer covered in part with a cloth folded ſeveral times, and *Boetius de conſolatione Philoſophiæ* with two other books upon it. By this Cup-board ſtands a daughter of Sir *Thomas More's* putting on her right-hand glove, and having under her arm a book bound in red Turkey leather and gilt, with this inſcription round the outſide of the Cover *Epiſtolica Senecæ*. Over her head is written *Elizabetha Danceæ Thomæ Mori filia anno* 21. Behind her ſtands a woman holding a book open with both her hands over whoſe head is written * *Uxor Johannis Clements*. Next to Mrs. *Dancy* is Sir *John More* in his robes as one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench, and by him Sir *Thomas* in his Chancellor's robes and collar of SS. with a roſe pendant before. They are both ſitting on a ſort of treſſel or arm'd bench one of the arms & legs and one of the taſſels of the Cuſhion appear on the left ſide of Sir *Thomas*. At the feet of Sir *John* lies a Cur-dog, and at Sir *Thomas's* a *Bologna* ſhock. Over Sir *John's* head is written *Johannes Morus pater anno* 76. Over Sir *Thomas's* *Thomas Morus anno* 50. Between them behinde ſtands the wife of *John More*, Sir *Thomas's* ſon, over whoſe head is written *Anna Criſacria Joannis Mori ſponſa anno* 15. Behind Sir *Thomas* a little on his left hand ſtands his only ſon *John More* pictured with a very fooliſh aſpect, and looking earneſtly in a book which he holds open with both his hands. Over his head is written

* In the ſketch of another of theſe Family Pieces given us by the learned Dr. *Knight* this Lady is called *Margareta Gige* affinis an 22 which ſeems to intimate that this Picture was drawn before that at *Well-Hall* tho' they were both done in the ſame year.

written *Joannes Morus Thomæ filius anno* 19. A little to the left of Sir *Thomas* are sitting on low ſtools his two other daughters *Cæcilia* and *Margaret*. Next him is *Cæcilia* who has a book in her lap claſp'd. By her ſits her ſiſter *Margaret* who has likewiſe a book in her lap but wide open, in which is written, L. An. Senecæ——Oedipus—*Fata ſi liceat mihi fingere arbitrio meo, temperem zephyro levis.* ——On *Cæcilia's* petycoat is written *Cæcilia Herond Thomæ Mori filia anno* 20 and on *Margaret's*, *Margareta Ropera Thomæ Mori filia anno* 22. Juſt by Mrs. *Roper* ſits Sir *Thomas's* Lady in an elbow chair holding a book open in her hands. About her neck ſhe has a gold chain with a croſs hanging to it before. On her left hand is a Monkey chained and holding part of it with one paw and part of it with the other. Over her head is written, *Uxor Thomæ Mori anno* 57. Behind her is a large arched window in which is placed a flower pôt of flowers and a couple of Oranges. Behind the two ladies ſtands Sir *Thomas's* Fool, who, it ſeems, was bereft of his judgment by diſtraction. He has his cap on, and in it are ſtuck a red and white roſe and on the brim of it is a ſhield with a red croſs in it, and a ſort of Seal pendant. About his neck he wears a black ſtring with a Croſs hanging before him, and his * left thumb is ſtuck in a broad leathern girdle claſp'd about him. Over his head is written † *Henricus Pattiſon Thomæ ſervus.* At the

Henry Patenſon

* This is repreſented in the Preface to *Hearne's* edition of this Life of Sir *Thomas* thus: *manu fixa ad capulum enſis, ut mihi videtur, maximi moduli* But fools don't uſe to be truſted with ſuch weapons as two handed ſwords.

† I had ſometime one with me called *Cliffe*, a man as well knowen as maiſter *Henry Patenſon.*
Sir *Tho: Mores* Engliſh Worke, p. 935.

the entrance of the room, where Sir *Thomas* and his family are, ſtands a man in the Portal who has in his left hand a roll of papers or parchments with two ſeals appendant, as if he was ſomeway belonging to Sir *Thomas* as Lord Chancellor: Over his head is written *Joannes Hereſius Thomæ Mori famulus.* In another room, at ſome diſtance is ſeen thro' the door caſe a † man ſtanding at a large bow window, with ſhort black hair in an open ſleev'd gown of a ſea green colour, and under it a garment of a bloſſom colour, holding a book open in his hands written or printed in the black letter, and reading very earneſtly in it. About the middle of the Room over againſt Sir *Thomas* hangs a Clock with ſtrings & leaden weights without any caſe.

N° XVI

On a Mural Monument againſt the Weſt Wall of the Roopers *Chancel on the ſouth-ſide of the High Chancel of the Church of* St. Dunſtans *in the Suburbs of the City of* Canterbury.

SIſte Gradum Qui pergis, et hac (ut vivere poſſis,
Utque Mori melius diſcere) pauca Legas,
Negligis Ecce brevi, forſan dum negligis et Tu
Humanæ Specimen Conditionis Eris.

Sacrum Pietati et Parentibus.
Thomas Rooper Armiger *Thomæ Mori*
(Quod nec modico huic Familiæ Honori
Fuit

† In the aforeſaid Preface he is ſaid to be a Prieſt, but he who ſo ſtiles him ownshe never before ſaw a Prieſt in a green habit, and my eyes were not good enough to ſee any ſhaven crown.

Fuit) ex Filia *Margareta* Nepos, Hæres
Moribus, poſt patrem *Gulielmum* (cujus
In eo munere Conſors videri prius quam
Succeſſor poterat) in Foro * ceu Bancc
Regio ſuprema totius Regni Curia Pro-
tonotarius Viginti quatuor aut eo am-
plius annorum Spatio (Tam ſuo magno meri-
to Quam Summo omnium ſtudio) Fide bona
et publica egit, non Actoribus non Reis
aut dare unquam verba ſolitus, aut ni-
mio vendere. Uxorem habuit eamq; uni-
cam *Luciam* Filiam *Anthonij Browne* ex
Illuſtri *Montacutenſi* Familia oriundam
Equitis, Equorumq; Regi *Henrico* octavo
Præfecti, Cui etiam a Conſilijs fuit. Ex
Illa bis ſenos pari ſexus diſcrimine libe-
ros ſuſcepit. Mirus utriſq; et merus
Amor, magna concordia et mutua vene-
ratio, ita publicus in Foro, Domi pri-
vatus, ſancte ubiq; agens et modeſte,
Ubi tranquilliter ſenuiſſet dormienti
Similis anno ætatis ſuæ ſexageſimo
Quinto requievit in Chriſto, viceſimo
Primo *Januarij* Anno 1597.
Indulgentiſſimo Parenti piiſſimus Filius
Gulielmus Rcoperus Li. * Me. po.
Reſpice quid prodeſt præſentis temporis ævum
Omne quod eſt nihil eſt, præter amare Deum.
Quid Caro, Quid Sanguis, Quid Pulvis & Umbra Su-
Quid Lætare miſer vermibus Eſca ſatus? (perbis?
Qui Mundum immundum captas, captaberis ipſe,
Et qui cuncta cupis * Te brevis Urna capit.
Pauca poteſt vivo Mundus ſolatia ferre,
Nullaq; poſt Mortem commoda damna poteſt.
Quæ damnant † fugiens animam ſic * inſtrue vivens,
Vivat ——— in ——— beata Deo.
Mortuus hæc moneo moriturum, † perge, † memorq;
Eſto meæ * ſortis, ſed magis ipſe tuæ.

* *Wood & Herne* ſive

* W. & H. mer.

* deeſt W & H.

† fugias W & H.

* deeſt W. & H.

†† deſurt W. & H.

* mortis W. & H.

N° XVII.

An Order of the Houſe of Lords, 1641: *concerning Books.*

Wedneſday, Dec. 1. 1641.

* *Nalſon's Collect. Vol.* II. p. 690.

THis day the Bp. of * *Exon* reported to the Lords Houſe, That the Committee formerly appointed by their Houſe have peruſed thoſe Books which were ſiezed on coming from beyond the Seas, and others printed in *England* and put into the hands of the Regiſter of the High Commiſſion Court, and the Committee finds them to be of three ſeveral ſorts.

* *Joſ Hall.*

I. Such as are fit to be delivered to the owners, and to be ſold by the Stationers as good and vendible books, *viz.*

The holy Table, Name and Thing.

Mr. Walker's * *treaty of the Sabbath.*

* treatiſe.

A French Commentary on the Revelations,

Dr. Burgeſs *his rejoynder for ceremonies.*

Some old books of Controverſies.

II. A *ſecond* ſort of books which the Committee thinks fit to be ſold to choice Perſons, as

Cauſin's 4*th tome of Holy Court in folio of which there are* 370.

Thomas *de* Kempis *of the following of* Chriſt *of which there are* 100 *in decimo ſexto.*

The Life of Sir Thomas Moore.

III. *A third* ſort of ſuperſtitious Tablets and Books which are fit to be burnt, as

Miſſals, Primers, & Offices of our Lady, &c.

Hereupon it was ordered by this Houſe, That the *firſt* ſort of books are approved of by this Houſe, and are to be delivered to the Owners, and to be ſold by the Stationers: and That the

ſecond

ſecond ſort be delivered over to ſafe hands, to be ſold to Noblemen, Gentlemen and Scholars, but not to Women: And *laſtly*, That the *third* ſort be burned by the Sheriffs of LONDON in *Smythfield* forthwith.

N. B. In this order of the Lords, that the *ſecond ſort* of books ſhould not be ſold to women, they ſeem to have copied after the precedent in 34 & 35 *Hen* VIII. when it was enacted, that no women ſhould read within this realme and other his Majeſtie's dominions, the Bible or New-Teſtament in *Engliſh*, except Noble-women and Gentil-women, who were allowed to read them to themſelves alone but not to others.

N° XVIII.

An Account of Sir Tho: More's *writings in* Latin *and* Engliſh, *with ſome Memoirs of his Family.*

SIR *Thomas*, notwithſtanding his great buſineſs, and being ſo much employed not only as a Counſellor at Law, but as a Miniſter of State, wrote a great deal for the Publick, to his intentneſs on which he imputed that Pain in his breaſt of which he afterwards complained. His *Latin* works were collected together and printed at *Lovain*, by *Peter Zangrius Tiletanus* Anno. 1566. and are as follows.

I. *Utopiæ* libri duo. Of this book were ſeveral editions with the following Title, *Illuſtris viri* Thomæ Mori *Regni Britanniarum Cancellarij* de optimo Reipublicæ Statu, de nova Inſula *Utopia Libri Duo*. Theſe are ſomewhat different from this

this printed at *Lovain*, and in particular have a Paragraph expoſing the begging Fryers which is here left out.

2. *Progymnaſmata* Thomæ Mori *et* Gulielmi Lilij *ſodalium: ſeu Epigrammata* Thomæ Mori *pleraque e Grecis verſa.*

3. *Epigrammata:* Some of theſe are upon one *Germanus Brixius* Secretary to the Queen of *France* who had written ſome verſes in praiſe of a French man of war called *Chordigera*, and of one *Hervey* the commander of it: which *More* ridiculed as a Narrative of falſe facts and containing a great many improprieties. *Brixius*, in revenge, endeavoured to expoſe *More's* epigrams particularly thoſe upon *Henry Abingdon* the Songſter, by way of Epitaph, and the † Congratulatory Poem on the Coronation of K. *Henry* VIII. and His Queen *Catharine.* But *Eraſmus* obſerved, that every thing *Briſſe* ſaid was of that nature that any one as he read it might anſwer it to himſelf, and that he found fault with that in *More* which he was in no wiſe guilty of, but which was either owing to the careleſsneſs or miſtake of the tranſcriber or printer; and that the other faults on which *Briſſe* criticiſed were ſuch, as muſt be allowed if we will not condemn the greateſt Authors.

Epitaphi. Abyngdonij cantoris

4. *Ex* LUCIANO *converſa quædam.*

5. *Declamatio* Lucianicæ *pro* Tyrannicida *reſpondens.*

6. *Hiſtoria* Richardi *Regis* Angliæ *ejus nominis* Tertij. conſcrip. cir. 1513.

7. *Reſponſio ad convitia* Martini Lutheri *congeſta in* Henricum *Regem* Angliæ *ejus nominis* octavum, *conſcripta* Anno Dom. 1523. This, I ſuppoſe, is the

* In ſuſcepti diademat's diem *Henrici* octavi illuſtriſſimum ac fauſtiſſimi Britanniarum Regis, ac *Catharinæ* Reginæ ejus fæliciſſimæ, *Thomæ Mori Londonienſis* Carmen gratulatorium.

the ſame with *Vindicatio* Henrici VIII. *Regis* Angliæ *et* Galliæ *a Calumniis* Lutheri *a* Gulielmo Roſſeo Lond. 1523.

8. *Expoſitio Paſſionis Domini ex contextu* IV *Evangeliſtarum uſque ad comprehenſum* Chriſtum *conſcripta dum in arce Londinenſi in carcere agebat.* A part of this was tranſlated into *Engliſh* by his daughter *Mary* the wife of Mr. *James Baſſet*, and one of the gentlewomen of the Privy Chamber to Q. *Mary*.

9. *Quod pro Fide Mors fugienda non eſt, dum in arce* Londinenſi *detineretur* A.D. 1534.

10. *Precatio ex Pſalmis collecta per* Thomam Morum *in Arce* Londinenſi *agentem* A. D. 1534. *Cui ipſe hunc titulum poſuit:* Imploratio divini auxilij contra tentationem cum inſultatione contra Dæmones ex ſpe et fiducia in DEUM.

11. Epitaphium.

12. A Collection of his Latin Letters printed at LONDON. 1642.

13. Beſides theſe, Sir *Thomas* wrote and publiſhed a little book entituled, *Refutatio* Brixij *libelli quem* † Antimorum *appellat.* On *Brixius*'s publiſhing this book, which * *Eraſmus* would fain have had him not have done, *Eraſmus* wrote to Sir *Thomas* to take no notice of it. But before he received his Letter, the book was printed off and ſome of the Copies diſperſed. But no ſooner had Sir *Thomas* read his friend's Letter, than he reſolved to do all he could to *** ſuppreſs it. Which he

Germanus Brixius a ſecretis Reginæ Franciæ April 6. 1520.

† *Brixius* ANTIMORON contra hunc virum edidit in quo eum tanquam indoctum et proſodiæ etiam ignarum traducit.
Geſner, Bibliothe: fol. 68. ed 1545.

* id nequaquam facies, ſi quid omnino audies *Eraſmum*.

** quum primum proſtarent et cæpiſſent avide flagitari, tua commodum intervenit epiſtola.

he did ſo effectually, that, as he wrote to *Eraſmus*, except *two* copies preſented to himſelf and *Peter Giles*, and *five* more which the Printer had ſold, he had got them all into his own poſſeſſion.

Sir *Thomas's* Englyſhe works were collected and publiſhed in one Volume by his Siſter's Son * *William Raſtell* ſergeant at Law with the following Title: *The Workes of Sir* Thomas More *Knight ſometyme Lord Chauncellor of* England *wrytten by him in the* Engliſh *Tongue. Printed at* London *at the coſts and charges of* John Cawood, John Waley *and* Richard Tottell. Anno 1557.

In this Volume are contained what I may call,

1. His *Juvenilia*, or Verſes &c. that he wrote in his Youth for his Paſtime & Diverſion.

2. *The Life of* John Picus *Earl of* Mirandula &c. *tranſlated out of* Latin *into* Engliſh.

3. *The Hiſtory of K.* Richard *the thirde* (unfiniſhed) *written by Mayſter* Thomas More *than one of the under ſheriffis of* London *about the Year of our* Lord 1513.

4. *A dyaloge of Syr* Thomas More *knyghte: one of the counſayll of oure Soverayne lorde the Kyng and chauncellour of hys duchy of* Lancaſter: *wherin be treatyd dyvers matters, as of the veneration and worſhyp of ymagys and relyques, prayng to ſayntys & goyng on Pylgrymage wyth many othere thyngys touchyng the Peſtylent ſect of* Luther *and* Tyndale, *by the tone* * *bygone in* Saxony, *and by the tother laboryd to be brought into* England. *Emprynted at* London *at the ſygne of the Meremayd at* Powlys *gate next to* chepe-ſyde *in the moneth of* June *the yere of our lord* 1529.

* begun

Cum privilegio Regali.

* *Williel. Raſtall*, Serv. ad Legem conſtitutus Juſtic. ad placita coram Rege April: 23. 4 & 5 *Phil.* et *Mariæ.*

5. The ſupplicacion of Soules made Anno 1529. agaynſt the ſupplicacion of beggars.

6. *The Confutation of* Tyndale's *Anſwer to his Dialogue made* 1532. in IX books.

7. *A Letter impugning the erronious writing of* John Frith *againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the aulter.*

8. *The Apology of Sir* Thomas More *Knt. made by him Anno* 1533. *after that he had given over thoffice of lord chauncellor of* Englande in 50 chapters.

9. *The Debellacyon of* Salem *and* Byzance A.D. 1533.

10. *An Anſwere to the* firſt *part of the poyſoned booke whych a nameles heretike hath named,* The Supper of the LORD. A.D. 1533.

11. *A dyalogue of comfort againſt tribulacion made by an* Hungarien *in* Latin, *and tranſlated out of* Latin *into* Frenche *and oute of* Frenche *into* Engliſhe *by Sir* Thomas More Knt. 1534 *while he was priſoner in the Tower of* London *in* 3 *books.*

12. *To receave the bleſſed body of our Lorde ſacramentally and virtuallie both:* written 1534.

13. *A treatyce hiſtoricall conteyning the bitter paſſion of our Saviour* Chriſte, *after the courſe and order of the* IV *Evangeliſtes with an expoſicion upon their wordes, taken, for the more part out of the ſayings of ſundry good olde holy Doctours, and begynning at the firſt aſſemblye of the* byſhoppe, *the* Prieſtes, *and the* ſeniours of the people *about the contriving of* Chriſtes *death written the* 26 *Chapter of Saynt* Mathewe, *the* 14 *of Saynt* Marke, *and in the* 22 *of Saynt* Luke; *And it endeth in the committyng of hys bleſſed body into his ſepulchre. with the fruſtrate Proviſion of the Jewes about the keeping therof with ſouldiers appointed therto written* Mat. 27. Marke 15. Luke 23. *and* John 19.

14. An introduction to the ſtorie left imperfect.

Sir

Sir *Thomas* wrote no more in *Engliſhe* of thys treatyſe of the Paſſion of *Chriſte*, but wrote more therof in *Latin*.

15. *A godly inſtruccion* written 1534.
16. *A godly inſtruccion* in *Latin*.
17. The ſame in *Engliſh*
18. *A Devout Prayer collected out of the Pſalms of* David wherunto he made *this Title following*, Imploratio divini auxilij contra tentationem cum inſultatione contra dæmones ex ſpe et fiducia in Deum.
19. *A godly meditacion, written in the Tower* 1534.
20. *A devoute praier made by Sir* Thomas *after he was condemned to die* thurſday *the* firſt *daye of* July, 1535.
21. *Letters* to Mrs. *Rooper* &c. in *Engliſh* and *Latin*.

Of Sir Thomas More's *Family*.

SIR *Thomas* had iſſue by his firſt wife *Jane* the daughter of *John Colt* of *Colts* Hall in *Eſſex* one ſon named after his Grandfather *John* and three daughters, *Margaret*, *Eliſabeth* and *Cecilia*. Sir *Thomas* had the three daughters firſt, and his wife very much deſired a boy. At laſt he had this ſon who proved little better than an Ideot, as is ſhewn in the countenance of his Picture at *Well-hall*. Upon which Sir *Thomas*, its ſaid, told his Lady, *She had prayed ſo long for a boy, that ſhe had now one who would be a boy as long as he lived*. However he had all the advantages that a good & ingenuous education could give him, by which his natural parts ſeem to have been improv'd. Among *Eraſmus*'s Letters we have one written to him by that great

Apothegms at the end of Mr. Herbert's *Remains* p. 185

Epiſt Lib. XXIX N° 16.

man, in which he ſtiles him a † youth of great hopes, & tells him, that he might not ſeem to make him no returns for his little preſents, and ſo many of his friendly Letters, he now ſent him a *Nut*, which he would not have him deſpiſe as a triſle, ſince it was a very elegant one, to wit an *Ovidian* Nut. Altho' were it otherwiſe *he* could not be thought to make a very ſmall preſent who ſent the whole tree, nor a cheap one who preſented a tree ſo eloquent. He was not, he ſaid, uſed to kill many birds with one ſtone, but yet it would look candid in him, and he himſelf ſhould appear leſs ungrateful, if this *Nut*, whoſe fruit nature had made diviſible into four parts, he would pleaſe to let be in common among his moſt agreeable Siſters *Margaret*, *Elizabeth* & *Cecilia*, and their happy companion *Gige* who ſo often teazed him with their Letters which he was perſuaded were their own by their good ſenſe and chaſt Latin. He added, that it was to no purpoſe to exhort him either to the ſtudy of Letters or the practice of Vertue, ſince he was himſelf ſo well diſpoſed & had at home ſuch a father. *Eraſmus* likewiſe inſcribed to him his account of *Ariſtotles* works, by which it ſhould ſeem as it he underſtood *Greek* as well as *Latin*. This he concluded with putting the young man in mind of his Parentage, and exhorting him to continue his endeavours to appear worthy of ſuch a Father.

He was married ſometime before he was 19 years old to *Anne Criſacre* daughter and ſole Heir of *Edward Criſacre* of *Baronburgh* in *Yorkſhire*, who was not 15 years old. Mr. *Rooper* tells us, She was an Heire in poſſeſſion of more then an hundred pounds land by the Yeere. By her, Mr. *More*, its ſaid, had iſſue *five* ſons. The eldeſt of theſe was named *Thomas* and had 13 children,

Life of Sir Tho More p. 86.

the

† Optimæ ſpei adoleſcenti,

the firſt of which was named *Thomas*; who being a moſt zealous Roman Catholic gave the Family Eſtate to his younger brother and took Orders at *Rome* whence by the Popes command he came a Miſſionary into *England*. He afterwards lived at *Rome*, where & in *Spain* he negotiated the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Clergy at his own expence, and wrote the Life of his great grandfather Sir *Thomas*, which after his death was printed with the folwing Title.

D. O. M. S.

The Life and Death of Sir *Thomas More* Knt. 4° 1627.
Lord High Chancellour of *England* under K. *Henry* the *Eighth* and His Majeſtie's Embaſſadour to the Courts of *France* and *Germany*.

It was dedicated to *The High and Mightie Princeſſe our moſt gracious Queene and Soveraigne* Marie Henriette *Queene of* Great Britaine, France *and* Ireland, *Ladie of the Iſles of the Britiſh* Ocean.

Which † match, the author of the Dedication tells us, *Thomas More* was very inſtrumental in making. He died *April* xi A.D. 1625 aged 59. *Wood &* Over his grave, it's ſaid, was ſoon after laid a mo- *Hearne* numental

† The Papiſts of thoſe times had their expectations very much raiſed by this match of having their Superſtition agen eſtabliſhed here in *England*. Accordingly we find books written by them about this time frequently dedicated to the King and Queen. And in 1622, was printed without the Name of any place, a Book with this Title.

Miſſale parvum pro ſacerdotibus
in Anglia itinerantibus,
Ordo etiam Baptizandi, aliaque
ſacramenta miniſtrandi, &
Officia quædam Eccleſiaſtica rite
peragendi.
Ex pontificali, et Rituali Romano, juſſu
Pauli P. P. Quinti editis extractus.

But in an edition of this *Ordo* &c *Duaci* 1604. it's more truly ſaid to be *juxta uſum inſignis Eccleſiæ* SARISBURIENSIS.

numental Stone of white marble at the charge of the *Engliſh* Clergy at *Rome*, on which is the following Inſcription in capital Letters.

D. O. M. S.

Thomæ Moro Dioc. † Ebor. Anglo
Magni illius *Thomæ Mori* Angliæ
Cancellarij et Martyris Pronepoti
Atque Hæredi: Viro probitate
et pietate inſigni:
Qui, raro admodum apud *Britannos*
exemplo, in Fratrem natu
minorem, * amplum tranſcripſit
Patrimonium, et Presbyter *Romæ*
Factus, inde, [1] juſſu Sedis Apoſtolicæ
in patriam [2] projectus, pluſculos
annos ſtrenuam Fidei
propagandæ navavit operam;
Poſtea Cleri Anglicani negotia
vii annos *Romæ* et [3] in *Hiſpania*
P. P. *Paulo* V et *Gregorio* XV. ſumma
[4] integritate et induſtria, ſuisque
Sumptibus procuravit.
Tandem de ſubrogando Anglis
Epiſcopo ad *Urban.* VIII. miſſus
Negotio eo feliciter confecto
Laborum mercedem recepturus
ex hac Vita migravit xi. *Ap.*
A. MDCXXV ætatis ſuæ 59.

Clerus Anglicanus mæſtus P.

1 fu'iſſe

2 profectus

3. V.

4 cum

I'll

† The Eſtate which he inherited of the *Criſacres* was in *Yorkſhire*.

* Somewhat more than 100 per ann.

I'll only add, that this Mr. *More* in relating Mrs. *Rooper's* coming to her Father when he was brought back to the Tower after his condemnation, tells us, that ſhe was *not able to ſay any word, but*, Oh my Father, oh my Father! But Mr. *Rooper*, from whom he took his account, ſays not that ſhe ſpake a word to him: and the Latin Letter concerning Sir *Thomas*'s death, expreſly ſays, ſhe could not ſpeak a word to him. For which he gives the Tragic poet's reaſon, *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent.* chap. xi.

As for Sir *Thomas*'s daughters, the eldeſt of them and his great favourite was married to * *William Rooper* Eſq; of *Well-Hall* in the Pariſh of *Eltham* in *Kent* the author of this Life of Sir *Thomas*. By him ſhe had iſſue *Thomas Rooper* who married *Lucy* the daughter of Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe and Privy-Councellour to K. *Henry* VIII. *Anthony Rooper* a ſecond ſon: and *three* daughters *viz. Elizabeth* who married ——— *Stevenſon*, and was a ſecond time married to Sir *Edward Bray* Knt. *Margaret* married to *William Dawtrey*: & *Mary* firſt married to *Stephen Clarke* and a ſecond time to *James Baſſet*.

Sir *Thomas*'s ſecond daughter *Eliſabeth* was married to ——— *Dancy* & his *third* daughter *Cecilia* to ——— *Herond* and that is all I know of them. Theſe all lived together with Sir *Thomas* at *Chelſea*. *Eraſmus*, who had been there and knew their way of living, calls the Family a little houſe of the Muſes, and another academy of *Plato*. Only, he ſays, he does it wrong by the compariſon. Since in *Plato*'s academy they diſputed about numbers and geometrical figures, and but ſometimes of moral Virtues, Wheras this Houſe was more properly a School and Exerciſe of the Chriſtian

* *Eraſmus* ſtiles him *ornatiſſimum* Roperum.

Chriſtian Religion. There was neither man nor woman who was not employed in liberal diſciplines, and fruitful reading, altho' the principal ſtudy was Religion. There was no quarelling not ſo much as a peeviſh word was to be heard, nor was any one ſeen idle All were in their ſeveral employs, they all appeared chearful, nor was there wanting ſober Mirth. And ſo well managed a government Sir *Thomas* did not maintaine by ſeverity and chiding, but by † gentleneſs and kindneſs.

† Pudore et liberalitate liberos
Retinere ſatius eſſe credo, quam metu.
—— Errat longe, mea quidem ſententia,
Qui imperium credat gravius eſſe, aut ſtabilius,
Ut quod fit, quam illud quod amicitia adjungitur.
Mea eſt ſic ratio & ſic animum induco meum:
Malo coactus qui ſuum officium facit,
Dum id reſcitum iri credit, tantiſper cavet
Si ſperat fore clam, rurſus ad ingerium redit.
Ille quem beneficio adjungas, exanimo facit,
Studet par referre; præſens abſenſque idem erit.
Tereut: Adelpho: Act. I. Scena I.

AN

AN
EXPLANATION

Of the obſolete WORDS, &c. *in the Life of Sir* THO. MORE.

A

ABjected. p. 131. *caſt away.*
Affectis. 13. *Affections.*
*Algoriſme } *An arithmetical*
ſtone. 146 } *ſtone.*

B

Bedeſman. 107. *Petitioner*
Botickis. 12. *Buttocks*

C

Cailiffe. 87. *Captive, Slave, Wretch.*
Common houſe. } 36 *Houſe of Commons.*

E

Egall. 10. *equal.*
Eftſones. 106. *preſently, immediately.*

G

Geare. 61. *Affair, Buſineſs.*
Gre. 116. *pleaſure, ſatisfaction:* take in gre, *take kindly.*
Guiſe, 44. *manner.*

H

Hit, 35. *it.*
Honeſtie, 102. *credit, reputation, decency.*
Houſelled, 81. *communicated, received the Sacrament.*
Howld, 42. *bold.*

I

Improved, 114. *diſproved.*
Jubarding, 121. *jeopardiug, hazarding, or bringing into danger.*

L

Leſe, 111. *loſe.*
Let, 23. *binder.*
Lewdelie, 43. *ignorantlie, fooliſhlie.*

M

Maſtrie, 45. *victorie.*

O

Overlie, 93. *beſides.*

P

Palles, 131. *palace.*
Parel, 124. *peril, danger.*
Priſe, 139. *praiſe.*

R

Rownded, 81. *whiſpered.*
Reſined, 131. *reſigned.*

S

Sewe, 114. *ſue, proſecute, follow.*
Shrewde, 127. *notable, ſharp.*
Simple, 9. *plain, downright-honeſt*
Soth, 8. *truth, true.*
Souked, 12. *ſucked.*
Soyleth, 125. *ſolveth, anſwereth.*
Stwarde, 12. *ſteward.*

T

Tayed, 12. *tied.*
Tone } 14 *the one.*
Tother } *the other.*
Travailed, 31. *laboured.*
Traverſe, 33. *cloſet.*
Trothe, 52. *truth.*

U

Utas, 100. *Octaves,* the *eighth day.*

W

Wene, 9. *think, imagine.*
Went, 11. *thought,* &c.
Wilili, 11. *craftily, cunningly.*
Wiſe, 35. ſee *guiſe, cuſtom, uſage.*
Wiſt, 16. *knew.*
Wittie, 36. *ſenſible, ingenious.*

Y

Ynouth, 135. *enough.*

* Ab *Arabibus* nomen *Algoriſmi* accepimus pro praxi Arithmetica per figuras numerales. *Wallis.*

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The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore to which are added, some original letters

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